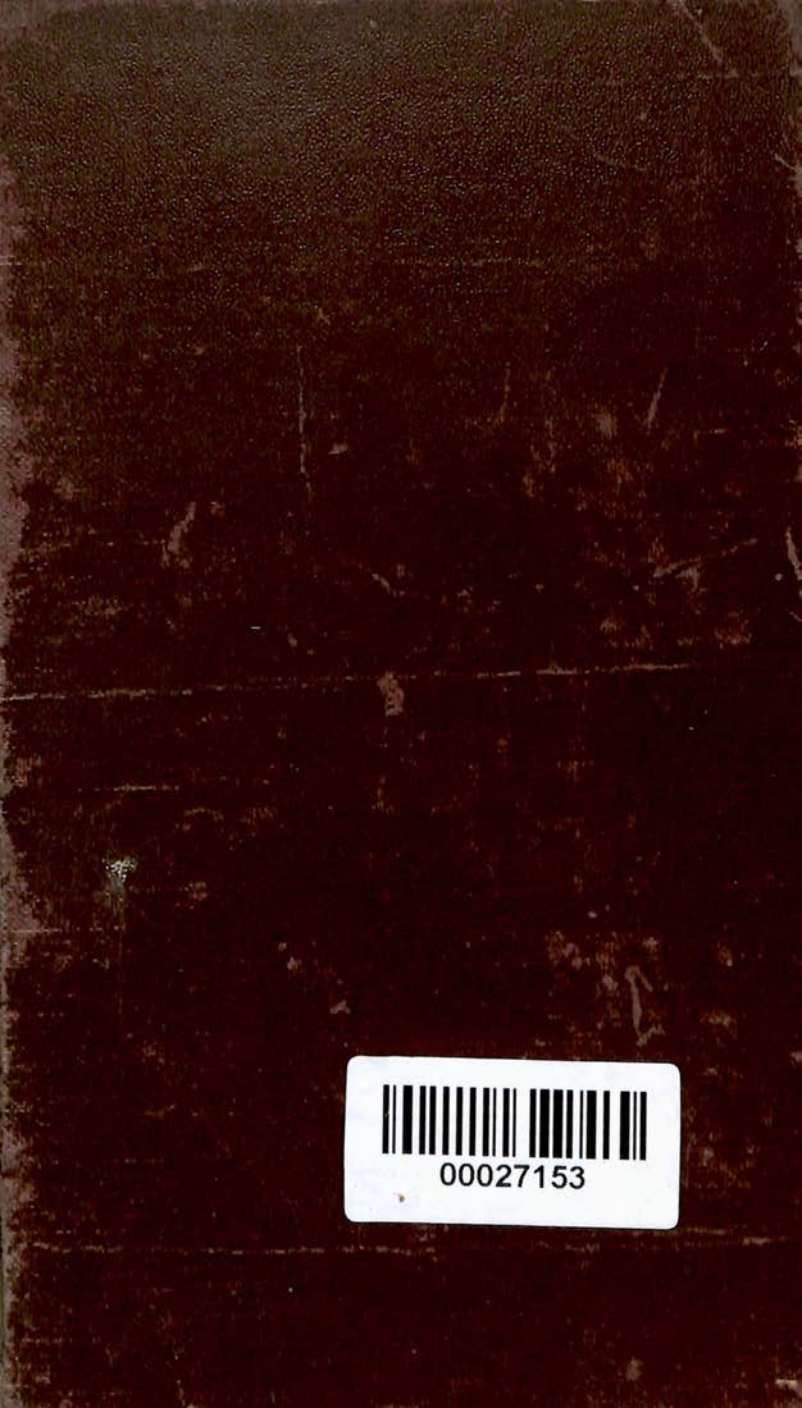
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MR. *ADAMS'S*

DEFENCE

OF THE

CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

VOL. II.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA,

AGAINST THE ATTACK OF M. TURGOT.

IN HIS

LETTER TO DR. PRICE,

DATED THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF MARCH, 1778.

BY JOHN ADAMS, LL. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

As for us Engliſhmen, thank heaven, we have a better ſenſe of government, delivered to us from our anceſtors. We have the notion of a public, and a conſtitution; how a legiſlative and how an executive is moulded. We underſtand weight and meaſure in this kind, and can reaſon juſtly on the balance of power and property. The maxims we draw from hence are as evident as thoſe of mathematics. Our increaſing knowledge ſhews us every day more and more what common ſenſe is in politics.

Shafteſbury's Charact. vol. i. p. 108.

'Tis ſcarce a quarter of an age ſince ſuch a happy balance of power was ſettled between our prince and people, as has firmly ſecured our hitherto precarious liberties, and removed from us the fear of civil commotions, wars, and violence, either on account of the property of the ſubject, or the contending titles of the crown.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE THIRD EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:

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FOR WILLIAM COBBETT, OPPOSIT CHRIST CHURCH.

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A DEFENCE OF THE Conſtitution of Government of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

Italian Republics of the Middle Age.

Groſvenor-ſquare, April 19, 1787.

My dear Sir,

THERE is no example of a government ſimply democratical; yet there are many of forms nearly or remotely reſembling what are underſtood by All Authority in one Centre. There once exiſted a cluſter of governments, now generally known by the name of the Italian Republics of the Middle Age, which deſerve the attention of Americans, and will further illuſtrate and confirm the principles we have endeavoured to maintain. If it appears, from the hiſtory of all the ancient republics of Greece, Italy, Aſia Minor, as well as from thoſe that ſtill remain in Switzerland, Italy, and elſewhere, that caprice, inſtability, turbulence, revolutions, and the alternate prevalence of thoſe two plagues and ſcourges of mankind, tyranny and anarchy, were the effects of governments without three orders and a balance, the ſame important truth will appear, in a ſtill clearer light, in the republics of Italy. The ſketches to be given of theſe cannot be introduced with more

propriety, than by the ſentiments of a late writer*, becauſe they coincide with every thing that has been before obſerved. Limited monarchies were the ancient governments: the jealouſies and errors of the nobles, or the oppreſſions they ſuffered, ſtimulated them to render monarchy unpopular, and erect ariſtocracies. Ancient nations were, in one point, very generally defective in their conſtitutions, and that was the incertitude of the ſovereignty, and, by conſequence, the inſtability of government, which, was, in all the republics of Italy, a perpetual occaſion of infinite confuſions. In no part of Italy, however united together, was found eſtabliſhed an abſolute hereditary monarch. By many examples, it is manifeſt, that kings either were created by the favour of the multitude, or ſought at leaſt their conſent, and conſulted the people in affairs of moſt importance and greateſt danger. The government of the grandees, which ſucceeded, was rather a fraudulent or violent uſurpation, than a true and proper ariſtocracy eſtabliſhed by law, or confirmed by long and unconteſted poſſeſſion; and a popular government was never ſo free or ſo durable, as when it was mixed with the authority of one ſupreme head, or of a ſenate; ſo that mixed governments were almoſt always preferred. One of the three kinds of governments nevertheleſs fell, when another aroſe; and all the Italian republics, nearly at one time, by the ſame gradations, paſſed from one form of adminiſtration to another. In this particular agree all the memorials of ancient Italy. They were, from the beginning, governed by kings: the Tuſcans had kings; the Sabines had kings; and ſo had the people of Latium; and as every city formed an independent government, theſe

* Danina, Rivoluzioni d'Italia, v. i. p. 41.

kings

kings could not have much magnificence. Many ſtates often obeyed the ſame king; for he who had the lordſhip of one city, procured himſelf to be elected the head of another. Porſenna, whom Dionyſius calls king of Tuſcany, becauſe he was followed by many Tuſcan nations, was from the beginning only king of Chiuſi. The kings of Rome, by various means, gained the command of the Latin cities, which nevertheleſs, two centuries afterwards, reputed themſelves ſtill independent of the ſtate of Rome. The king of the Veintes, had the lordſhip of Fidena, a free city, and independent of the Vientes, in the ſame manner as the Viconti lords of Milan, Caſtruccio lord of Lucca, and the Scala lords of Verona, and ſo many other princes and tyrants of the later ages, before the exaltation of Charles the Fifth, made ſuch progreſs in obtaining the ſovereignty of many cities. Theſe kingdoms were either ſimply elective, or at leaſt required the expreſs conſent of the people, how often ſoever one relation ſucceeded to another. Royal governments nevertheleſs were generally diſpleaſing to the people; and the grandees and nobles, who were the moſt expoſed to the caprice of the prince, both in their perſons and property, ſtudied to generate in the minds of the common people an hatred to the name of king, and to excite the deſire of liberty. They flattered themſelves, that if the principality, which often fell into the hands of new men and adventurers, ſuch as Tarquin in Rome, and Ariſtodemus in Cuma, were aboliſhed, they ſhould be able to live, not only with more ſecurity and greater licence, but with more authority, command, and power. In what nation, and in which city the revolution firſt began, is not eaſy to determine; but in the courſe of the third century of the Roman æra, one people following the example of another, this

by

by means of one opportunity, and that by another, either expelled by violence their preſent kings, or deſiſted from electing new ones; and all Italy, hoiſting as it were a common ſignal, changed at once its whole form of government. The odium of the royal name, and an enthuſiaſm for liberty, ſeized ſo univerſally, and with ſuch energy, the whole Italian nation, that if any city wiſhed either to continue or recover the uſe of kings, this inclination was ſcarcely manifeſted before they were pointed out and reviled by the other cities, and upon all great occaſions abandoned. The Veientes*, either from a diſguſt at the cabals and ambition which aroſe from the annual creation of new magiſtrates, or the better to provide for war, created afreſh a king; by which reſolution they incurred to ſuch a degree the hatred and contempt of the other people of Tuſcany, that, contrary to every rule of policy, duty, and cuſtom, they were left alone to ſuſtain that obſtinate war with the Romans, which ended in their ruin. In the beginning of the fourth century of the Roman ſtory, there is ſeldom or never any mention made of kings in any of the ſtates of Italy. The whole authority and adminiſtration of public affairs paſſed into the hands of the nobility, ſenate, or that body which conſtituted at firſt the middle order between the king and the people, which became the ſupreme head of the government; and although the greater magiſtracies were elected by the voices or ſuffrages of the people, nevertheleſs all the honours and all the power of the government were collected in the grandees, who eaſily commanded the votes of the electors, and who alone were the elected; for none of the plebeians dared to pretend to offices, civil or military: and it is too

* Liv. lib. v. c. 1.

evident,

evident, that in every kind of community, the rich and the noble endeavour, as it were, by their very nature, to exclude the common people and the plebeians. Moſt of the public affairs relative to peace or war were treated in a ſenate compoſed eſſentially of patricians and nobles, who, in every thing that regarded the conſtitution, inclined more to ariſtocracy than to popular government. No city was ſo mean or ſo ill ordered, as not to have a public council, or a ſenate. Livy ſpeaks of the ſenate, not only of Naples, Capua, and Cuma, but of Nola, Pipernum, Tuſculum, Tivoli, the Veintes, and of others, ſo frequently, that it is clear, that in all the republics there was an order diſtinct from the plebeians, who retained in their hands the eſſence of the government. But the plebeians, once become obſtinate, at the ſolicitation of the nobility, in a hatred of tyranny, had not far to go before they opened their eyes upon their own condition, and learned that they had done nothing more than exchange one maſter for many; and began to make every exertion to obtain, in part, the poſſeſſion of that liberty, of which they had obtained a taſte in words from the order of patricians and the ſenate: and as the multitude began to make trial of their ſtrength, the ſovereign authority was ceded to them by little and little, and the nobility, in their turn, were tormented and tyranniſed by the plebeians. Livy obſerves, that about the time of the Carthaginian war, by a kind of epidemical malady ſpread through the Italian republics, the plebeians applied themſelves to perſecute the nobility. Nevertheleſs, the order of the grandees always preſerved a great part of the power; for the nature of popular government being variable, inconſtant, and incapable of conducting itſelf, the ſenate and the nobility, who act with more maturity of deliberation, and with

intereſts

intereſts more united, can generally counterpoiſe the party of the plebeians, and from time to time overcome it. From whence it happened, that all the cities were expoſed to continual revolutions of government, and very rarely enjoyed that perfect equality, which is the end of a free ſtate; but either the favour of the people, or the neceſſity of the ſenate, devolved the principal authority on ſome individual, who, with or without the title of ſupreme magiſtrate, was always regarded as the head of the government. Thus we find a Manilius, head of the Latins; an Accius Tullius, principal of the Volſci; an Herennius, of the Samnites; a Calavius, of the Campanians; a Valerius, a Camillus, and a Fabius, chief of the Romans: and, to ſpeak the truth, there was never any great and important ſucceſs in any free ſtate, neither at home nor abroad, except in thoſe times, when ſome one citizen held the wills of the public in his own power. But waving the reſt of theſe general obſervations for the preſent, let us deſcend to particulars; and quitting the ancient republics of Italy, deſcend to thoſe of the middle age, among which Florence is the moſt illuſtrious. As the hiſtory of that noble city and magnanimous people has been written by two authors, among a multitude of others, who may be compared to any of the hiſtorians of Greece or Rome, we have here an example more fully delineated; an experiment more perfectly made and more accurately deſcribed than any we have examined before. You will not, therefore, find it tedious to conſider minutely the affairs of a brave and enlightened people, to whom the world is indebted for a Machiavel, a Guichiardin, and an Americus Veſpucius; in a great degree for the reſurrection of letters, and a ſecond civilization of mankind. Next to Athens and Rome, there has

not

not exiſted a more intereſting city. Their hiſtory is full of leſſons of wiſdom, extremely to our purpoſe. We have all along contended, that the predominant paſſion of all men in power, whether kings, nobles, or plebeians, is the ſame; that tyranny will be the effect, whoever are the governors, whether the one, the few, or the many, if uncontrouled by equal laws made by common conſent, and ſupported, protected, and enforced by three different orders of men in equilibrio. In Florence, where the adminiſtration was by turns in the nobles, the grandees, the commons, the plebeians, the mob, the ruling paſſion of each was the ſame; and the government of each immediately degenerated into a tyranny ſo inſupportable, as to produce a freſh revolution. We have all along contended, that a ſimple government, in a ſingle aſſembly, whether ariſtocratical or democratical, muſt of neceſſity divide into two parties, each of which will be headed by ſome one illuſtrious family; and will proceed from debate and controverſy to ſedition and war.---In Florence, the firſt diſſenſion was among the nobility; the ſecond between the nobles and commons; and the third between the commons and plebeians: in each of which conteſts, as ſoon as one party got uppermoſt, it ſplit into two; and executions, confiſcations, baniſhments, aſſaſſinations, and diſperſions of families, were the fruit of every diviſion, even with more attrocious aggravations than in thoſe of Greece. Having no third order to appeal to for deciſion, no conteſt could be decided but by the ſword. It will enable us the better to underſtand Machiavel, whoſe hiſtory will be abridged and commented on, if we premiſe from* Nardi, that the city of

* Le Storie della Citta de Firenze p. 1.

Florence

Florence, had, like all other cities, its people conſiſting of three generations of inhabitants, that is to ſay, the nobility, the people of property*, and the common people. Although ſome too diligently divided the nobility into three ſorts, calling the firſt nobles, the ſecond grandees, and the third families, meaning to ſignify, that ſome of the inhabitants had come into the city and become citizens, having been deprived of their own proper country by conqueſt, while they were attempting to enlarge and extend their territories; others originally of this country, had become abundant in riches and powerful in dependents, either by their own induſtry or the favour of fortune; and others, having been foreigners, had come in like manner to inhabit the city: but from their primitive condition, they ſtill retained the diſtinctions of lord and vaſſal, by habit and by fraud, both in the city and the country. And all this mixture were indifferently called nobles, grandees, and families; and they were equally hated contradicted, and oppoſed, in the government of the republic, and in all their other actions, by that party which was called the ſubſtantial people, il popolo graſſo. The lower claſs of people, the plebeians, il popolo minuto, never intervened in government at all, excepting on one ſingle occaſion, when, with violence, they uſurped it, as in its proper place will be related. Some perſons made another diviſion ſtill of the plebeians, and not without reaſon; for thoſe who poſſeſſed real eſtate in the city or country, and were recorded in the public books of taxes and tributes of the city, and were called the † Enregiſtered, eſteemed themſelves, and were conſidered by their fellow-

* Il popolo graſſo, e il popolo minuto.
† Deſcritti.

citizens,

citizens, as holding a middle ſtation. The remainder of the lower claſs, who poſſeſſed no kind of property, were held of no account. Nevertheleſs, all this undiſtinguiſhed aggregate were called the people of Florence, and the expreſſion is ſtill in uſe, as the people of Athens, or the people of Rome, anciently comprehended the whole body of the inhabitants of thoſe cities: to which confuſed, and in its nature pernicious aggregate, as that of the head and tail always is, the body of middling citizens will always remain extremely uſeful, and proportioned to the conſtitution of a perfect republic.—As Machiavel is the moſt favourable to a popular government, and is even ſuſpected of ſometimes diſguiſing the truth to conceal or mollify its defects, the ſubſtance of this ſketch will be taken from him, referring at the ſame time to other authors; ſo that thoſe young Americans, who wiſh to be maſters of the ſubject, may be at no loſs in information. The moſt uſeful erudition for republicans is that * which expoſes the cauſes of diſcords; by which they may learn wiſdom and unanimity from the examples of others. The factions in Florence are the moſt remarkable of any. Moſt other commonwealths have been divided into two: that city was diſtracted into many. In Rome, the conteſt between patricians and plebeians, which aroſe after the expulſion of kings, continued to the diſſolution of the republic; the ſame happened at Athens, and all the other commonwealths of Greece, Italy, and Aſia Minor.—Such was the patriotiſm or good fortune of Florence, that ſhe ſeems to have gathered freſh vigour, and riſen ſtronger for her factions. Some, who eſcaped in

* Machiav. De Introduction.

the ſtruggles, contributed more by their courage and conſtancy to the exaltation of themſelves and their country, than the malignity of faction had done to diſtreſs them: and if ſuch orders and balances had been eſtabliſhed in their form of government as ſhould have kept the citizens united after they had ſhaken off the yoke of the empire, it might have equalled any republic, ancient or modern, in military power and the arts of peace.

The city of Florence was begun by the inhabitants of Fieſole, who, ſituated on the top of a hill, marked out a plot of ground upon the plain between the hill and the river Arno, for the conveniency of merchants, who firſt built ſtores there for their goods. When the Romans had ſecured Italy, by the deſtruction of Carthage, this place multiplied exceedingly, and became a city, by the name of Villa Arnina. Sylla was the firſt, and, after him, the three Roman citizens who revenged the death of Cæſar and divided the empire, who ſent colonies to Fieſole, who ſettled in the plain not far from the town already begun: and the place became ſo full of buildings and inhabitants, and ſuch proviſions were made for a civil government, that it might well be reckoned among the cities of Italy. Whence it took the name of Florence is not ſo well known. Tacitus calls the town Florentia, and the people Florentines. It was founded under the Roman empire; but when that was over-run by barbarians, Totilla, king of the Oſtrogoths, took and demoliſhed it. Two hundred years afterwards it was rebuilt by Charlemain, from whoſe time, till 1215, it followed the fortune of thoſe who ſucceſſively ruled in Italy; for, during that period, it was governed firſt by the poſterity of Charlemain, then by the Berengarii, and laſt of all

all by the German emperors. In 1010 the Florentines took and deſtroyed Fieſole. When the popes aſſumed greater authority in Italy, and the power of the German emperors was upon the wane, all the towns of that province began to govern themſelves. In 1080 Italy was divided between Henry the Third and the church. The Florentines always ſubmitted to the conqueror, until 1215. The longer it was before Florence was ſeized by the paroxyſms of factions, the more fatal they proved. The cauſe of its firſt diviſion is well known. The moſt powerful families in Florence, in 1215, were the Boundelmonti and the Uberti; and next to them the Amadei and Donati: a quarrel happened about a lady, and Meſſer Boundelmonti was killed. This murder divided the whole city, one part of it ſiding with the Boundelmonti, and the other with the Uberti; and as both of the families were powerful in alliances, caſtles, and adherents, the quarrel continued many years, till the reign of the emperor Frederick the Second, who being likewiſe king of Naples, and deſirous to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the church, and eſtabliſh his intereſt more ſecurely in Tuſcany, joined the Uberti, who by his aſſiſtance drove the Boundelmonti out of Florence, and thus that city became divided, as all the reſt of Italy was before, into the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines; the former of which denominated the adherents of the pope*, and the latter

* Danina, Rivoluzioni d'Italia.—There flouriſhed in Germany two principal families, the one called the Henries of Ghibillinga, and the other the Guelphs of Altdorp, which by the marriage of Azzo d'Eſte with Cunegund, daughter of Guelph the Third, ingrafted itſelf into the houſe of Eſte, called afterwards for that reaſon Guelfa Eſtenſe, from which are deſcended the dukes of Modena, and thoſe of Brunſwick and Hanover. From the firſt of which families, viz. the Ghibellines

latter thoſe of the emperor: Guelph being the name of the general of the firſt army for the church in this controverſy, and Ghibelline that of the place of the birth of the general who commanded for the emperor, about 1139.—The Guelphs, thus driven out of the city, retired into the valley, which lies higher up the Arno, where their ſtrong places and dependencies lay, and defended themſelves as well as they could: but when Frederick died, the neutral people in the city endeavoured to re-unite it, and prevailed upon the Guelphs to forget the diſgrace they had ſuffered, and return; and the Ghibellines to diſmiſs their animoſities and receive them. After they were re-united, they divided the city into ſix parts, and choſe twelve citizens, two to govern each ward, with the title of anziani, but to be changed every year. To prevent any feuds or diſcontents that might ariſe from the determination of Judiciary matters, they conſtituted two judges that were not Florentines, one of whom was ſtyled the captain

Ghibellines, have ariſen many kings and emperors, as the third, fourth, and fifth Henry. Of the other, viz. the Guelphs, there had been for many years famous dukes, who contending for power and for credit with the emperors, had very often diſturbed the tranquillity of the ſtate. Under the reign of Henry the Fifth theſe two families happily united in alliance, becauſe Fideric duke of Suavia, marrried Judith, daughter of Henry duke of Bavaria, and ſiſter of Guelph the Sixth, who was at that time the head of the houſe of Altdorp.

Commentari de fatto civili occorſi dentro Firenze. Scritto dal Senatore Filippo de Nerli, p. 2.

Hiſtoria Fiorentina di M. Piero Buoninſegni, Gentilhuomo Fiorentino, p. 35.

Annali d'Italia, da Muratori, tom. vii. p. 150, 151. anno 1215.

Iſtoria civile del Regno di Napoli di Pietro Giannone, tom. iii. p. 83.

Muratori, Diſſertations, tom. iii. p. 130.

Muratori, Antichita eſtenſi, parte prima, c. xxxi. p. 305.

of

of the people, and the other the podeſta, to adminiſter juſtice to the people, in all cauſes civil and criminal: and ſince laws are but of little authority and ſhort duration, where there is not ſufficient power to ſupport and enforce them, they raiſed twenty bands or companies in the city, and ſeventy-ſix more in the reſt of their territories, in which all the youth were inliſted, and obliged to be ready armed under their reſpective colours, whenever they were required ſo to be by the captain of the anziani. Their ſtandard-bearers were changed every year with great formality.

This is the very ſhort deſcription of their conſtitution. The twelve anziani appear to have had the legiſlative and executive authority, and to have been annully eligible---a form of government as near that of Mr. Turgot, and Marchamont Nedham, as any to be found;--- yet the judicial power is here ſeparated, and the people could ſo little truſt themſelves or the anziani with this power that it was given to foreigners.---By ſuch diſcipline in their civil and military affairs, ſays Machiavel, the Florentines laid the foundation of their liberty; and it is hardly to be conceived, how much ſtrength and authority they acquired in a very ſhort time; for their city not only became the capital of Tuſcany, but was reckoned among the principal in Italy; and indeed there is no degree of grandeur to which it might not have attained *if it had not been obſtructed by frequent and almoſt continual diſcords and diviſions.*---After this pompous preamble, one can ſcarce read without ſmiling the words that follow, " For the ſpace " of ten years they lived under this form of go- " vernment;" eſpecially when it appears, that during all theſe ten years, they were conſtantly employed in wars abroad, as appears by the following

lowing words: " During which time they forced the ſtates of Piſtoia, Arezzo, and Siena, to enter into a confederacy with them; and in their return with their army from the laſt city, they took Volterra, demoliſhed ſeveral caſtles, and brought the inhabitants to Florence."---The United States of America calculated their governments for a duration of more than ten years. There is little doubt to be made, that they might have exiſted under the government of ſtate congreſſes for ten years, while they were conſtantly at war, and all the active and idle were in council or in arms: but we have ſeen, that a ſtate which could be governed by a provincial congreſs, and indeed that could carry on a war without any government at all, while danger preſſed, has lately, in time of profound peace, and under a good government, broke out in ſeditions. This democratical government in Florence could laſt no longer, for in all theſe expeditions, ſays Machiavel, the Guelphs had the chief direction and command, as they were much more popular and powerful than the Ghibellines, who had behaved themſelves ſo imperiouſly in the reign of Frederick, when thay had the upper hand, that they were bcome very odious to the people; and becauſe the party of the church was generally thought to favour their attempts to preſerve their liberty, whilſt that of the emperor endeavoured to deprive them of it. The Ghibellines, in the mean time, finding their authority ſo dwindled, were not a little diſcontented, and only waited for a proper opportunity to ſeize upon the government again. They entered into correſpondence with Manfred, the ſon of Frederic king of Naples, in hopes of his aſſiſtance; but for want of due ſecrecy in theſe practices, they were diſcovered by

by the anziani, who thereupon ſummoned the family of the Uberti to appear before them: but inſtead of obeying, they took up arms, and fortified themſelves in their houſes; at which the people were ſo incenſed, that they likewiſe ran to arms, and, by the help of the Guelphs, obliged the whole party of the Ghibellines to quit Florence, and tranſport themſelves to Siena. There they ſued to Manfred for aid, who granted it, and the Guelphs were defeated upon the banks of the river 'Arbia, with ſuch ſlaughter, by the king's forces under the conduct of Farinata degli Uberti, that thoſe who eſcaped from it, giving up their city for loſt, fled directly to Lucca, and left Florence to provide for itſelf. Manfred had given the command of the auxiliaries, which he ſent to the Ghibellines, to count Giordino, a ſoldier of no ſmall reputation in thoſe times. This Giordino, after his victory, immediately advanced with the Ghibellines to Florence, and not only forced the city to acknowledge Manfred for its ſovereign, but depoſed the magiſtrates, and either entirely abrogated or altered all laws and cuſtoms that might look like remains of their former liberty; which being executed with great rigour and inſolence, inflamed the people to ſuch a degree, that if they did not love the Ghibellines before, they now became their inveterate and implacable enemies; which averſion continually increaſing, at laſt proved their utter deſtruction.---There is an admirable example of patriotiſm at this period of the Florentine hiſtory, in Farinata Uberti, who ſucceſsfully and decidedly oppoſed a plan of his own party of Ghibellines, and their allies, for the demolition of the city. He preſerved it however only for his enemies the Guelphs, who, driven out of Lucca, went to Parma, and joined their friends the Guelphs in

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that city, drove out the Ghibellines, and had their confiſcated eſtates for their reward: they then joined the pope againſt Manfred, who was defeated and ſlain. In conſequence of this victory, the Guelphs of Florence grew daily bolder and more vigorous, and the party of the Ghibellines weaker and weaker; upon which count Guido Novello, and thoſe that were left in commiſſion with him to govern Florence, reſolved to try, by lenity and gentler treatment, to recover the affections of the people, whom they found they had exaſperated to the laſt degree by their oppreſſive and violent manner of proceeding. To cajole and ingratiate themſelves with the people, they choſe ſix and thirty citizens out of the people of Florence, and two gentleman of higher rank from among their friends at Bologna, to whom they gave a commiſſion to reform the ſtate as they pleaſed. Theſe delegates devided the city into diſtinct arts or trades, over which they conſtituted a magiſtrate, who was to adminiſter juſtice to all who were in his department; and to every art a ſeparate banner was aſſigned, under which they might aſſemble in arms, whenever the ſafety of the public required it. But count Guido muſt have a tax to maintain his ſoldiers: the citizens would not pay it. He attempted to take back the new privilege of magiſtrates to each trade: the people roſe in arms, choſe Giovanni Soldanieri for their leader, fought the count and his Ghibellines, and drove them out of the city. The people, having thus got the upper hand, reſolved to unite the city if poſſible, and recal all ſuch citizens as had been forced to leave their homes, whether Guelphs or Ghibellines. The Guelphs returned, after ſix years baniſhment; the late attempt of the Ghibellines was pardoned, and they were ſuffered to come back again;

again; but they ſtill continued very odious both to the Guelphs and the people, the former not being able to forgive the diſgrace and hardſhips of their long exile, nor the latter to forget their inſolence and tyranny when they had the government in their hands: ſo that their ancient animoſities were not yet entirely extinguiſhed, either on one ſide or the other. The wrangle ſoon came to a criſis, and the Ghibellines fled out of the city, upon the interpoſition of a foreign force from Charles king of Naples, in favour of the Guelphs. After the departure of the Ghibellines, the Florentines new-modelled their government, and choſe twelve principal magiſtrates, who were to continue in authority no longer than two months, under the title of buonhomini. Next in power under them they appointed a council of eighty citizens, which they called the credenza. After this, an hundred and eighty more were elected out of the people, thirty to ſerve every two months; who, together with the credenza and the twelve buonhomini, were called the general council. Beſides which, they inſtituted another council, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty members, equally choſen out of the nobility, citizens, and commonalty, which was to confirm whatſoever had been reſolved upon by the others, and to act jointly with them in diſpoſing of the public honours and offices of the commonwealth. The firſt government of the anziani was as near a ſimple democracy as there is any example of: we found it accordingly, ineffectual. The next, of buonhomini, was no better; and that could not ſupport itſelf. Now we come to a new plan, which diſcovers, in the authors of it, a ſenſe of the imperfection of the former two, and an attempt to obviate its inconveniences and dangers: but inſtead

of a judicious plan, founded in the natural divisions of the people, it is a jumble which common ſenſe would ſee, at this day, muſt fall to pieces. The buonhomini, the credenza, and the thirty of the hundred and eighty, wore an appearance of three orders; but inſtead of being kept ſeparate, they are all huddled together in the general council. Another council ſtill, of an hundred and twenty, equally choſen out of the nobility, citizens, and commonalty, was to confirm whatever was reſolved on by the others. Here are two branches, with each a negative. But the miſtake was, that the ariſtocratical and democratical parts of the community were mixed in each of them; which ſhows, at firſt bluſh, that there never could be harmony in either, both being naturally and neceſſarily ſplit into two factions. But a greater defect, if poſſible, than even this, was giving the executive power, the power of diſpoſing public-honours and offices, to a joint aſſemblage of buonhomini, credenza, and the two other aſſemblies, all in one; the conſequence muſt be, that although every one of theſe four orders muſt be divided at once into factions for the loaves and fiſhes, yet the nobility, by their ſuperior influence in elections, would have the whole power. Unhappy Florence! thou art deſtined from this moment to never ending factions, ſeditions, and civil wars!---Accordingly, we read in the next page, what any one might have foreſeen from this ſketch of their conſtitution, "that the government of "Florence was fallen into great diſorder and miſ-"rule; for the Guelph nobility being the majo-"rity, were grown ſo inſolent, and ſtood in ſo "little awe of the magiſtracy" (and how could they ſtand in awe of magiſtrates whom they had created, and who were even at their devotion?) "that though

" though many murders, and other violences, were " daily committed, yet the criminals generally " escaped with impunity, through favour of one " or other of the nobles." To restrain these enormities, instead of twelve governors, they resolved to have fourteen, seven of each party, who should be nominated by the pope, and remain in office one year. Under this form of government, in which they had been obliged in reality to submit to a foreign master, they continued for two years, when the rage of faction again blazed out. They rose in arms, and put the city under a new regulation. In 1282 the companies of arts and trades ordained that instead of fourteen citizens, three only should govern, and that for two months, who were to be chosen indifferently out of the nobility or commons, provided they were merchants, or professed any art or occupation; and these were called priori. Afterwards, the chief magistracy was vested in six persons, one for each ward, under which regulation the city continued till the year 1342; but the course of events for these sixty years should be carefully traced, in order to see the operation of such a form of government, even in a single city. This institution, as might be expected, occasioned the ruin of the nobility, who, upon divers provocations, were excluded, and entirely suppressed by the people. The nobility, indeed, were divided among themselves; and by endeavouring to supplant each other, and aspiring to the sole government of the commonwealth, they quite lost all share in it. The priori were afterwards distinguished by the name of signiori. There remained some sparks of animosity betwixt the nobility and commonalty, which are incident to all republics; for one side being naturally jealous of any encroachment upon their liberty and

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legal rights, and the other ambitious to rule and controul the laws, it is not poſſible they ſhould ever long agree together. This humour, however, did not ſhew itſelf in the nobility while they were overawed by the Ghibellines; but when the latter were depreſſed, it began to appear, and the people were daily injured and abuſed in ſuch a manner, that neither the laws nor the magiſtracy had authority enough to relieve them; as every nobleman ſupported himſelf in his inſolence by the number of his friends and relations, both againſt the power of the ſignori and the captain of the people. The heads of the arts, to remedy ſo great an evil, provided, that every ſignori ſhould appoint a ſtandard-bearer of Juſtice, out of the people, with a thouſand men, divided iuto twenty companies, under him, who ſhould be always ready with their ſtandard and arms whenever ordered by the magiſtracy. This eſtabliſhment met little oppoſition, on account of the jealouſy and emulation that reigned among the nobility, who were not in the leaſt aware that it was levelled at them, till they felt the ſmart of it. Then, indeed, they were not a little awed by it for ſome time: but in a while they returned to the commiſſion of their former outrages; for as ſome of them always found means to inſinuate themſelves into the ſignori, they had it in their power to prevent the ſtandard-bearer from executing his office. Beſides, as witneſſes were always required upon any accuſation, the plaintiff could hardly ever find any one that durſt give evidence againſt the nobility: ſo that in a ſhort time Florence was involved in its former diſtractions, and the people expoſed to violence and oppreſſion; as juſtice was grown dilatory, and ſentence, though paſſed, ſeldom or never executed. The people not knowing what courſe

courſe to take, Giano della Bella, a ſtrenuous patriot, though of a very noble family, encouraged the heads of the arts once more to reform the city. It was enacted, that the gonfalonier ſhould always reſide with the ſignori, and have four thouſand armed men under his command. They alſo entirely excluded the nobility out of that council, of the ſignori, and made a law that all acceſſaries or abettors ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment with thoſe that were principals in any crime, and that common fame ſhould be ſufficient evidence to convict them. By theſe laws, which were called Li Ordinamenti della Giuſtizia (but which were in reality as tyrannical as the edicts of any deſpot could be) the people gained great weight and authority; but Giano being looked upon by the nobility as the author of thoſe laws to bridle their power, became very odious, not only to them, but to the richeſt of the commonalty: as well he might, for laws more oppreſſive and deſtructive of liberty could not have been made. Tyrannical as they were, however, they were not enough ſo for the people; for upon the trial of Corſo Donati, a nobleman, for a murder, although he was acquitted even under theſe new laws, the people were enraged and ran to arms, and demoliſhed the magiſtrate's houſe, inſtead of applying to the ſignori. The whole city exceedingly reſented this outrage upon all law and government: the blame of it was laid upon Giano, and he was accuſed before the magiſtrate as an encourager of inſurrection. While his cauſe was depending, the people took arms to defend him againſt the ſignori. Giano went voluntarily into baniſhment, to appeaſe this tumult. The nobility then petitioned the ſignori, that the ſeverity of the laws againſt them might be mitigated.

gated. As ſoon as this petition was publicly known, the commons, apprehending the ſignori would comply with it, immediately roſe in a tumultuous manner: ſo that ambition on one ſide, and jealouſy on the other, at laſt occaſioned an open rupture between them, and both ſides were prepared for battle; but by the interpoſition and mediation of ſome prudent men, whoſe arguments with both parties are very judicious, the people at laſt conſented that no accuſation ſhould be admitted againſt a nobleman, without ſufficient evidence to ſupport it. Both parties laid down their arms, but retained their jealouſies, and began ſoon to raiſe forces, and fortify themſelves as faſt as they could. The people thought fit to new model the government, and reduce the number of the ſignori, as they ſuſpected ſome of that body to be too favourably inclined to the nobility. A momentary tranquility ſucceeded; but the ſparks of jealouſy and envy ſtill remained betwixt the nobility and people; which ſoon broke out, on occaſion of a quarrel between two families, the Cherchi and Donati, both conſiderable for their riches, nobility, and dependents. The ſignori were under no ſmall apprehenſions that the whole city would become engaged in the diſpute, and hourly expected the two parties would openly attack each other, as it ſoon afterwards happened, and a ſkirmiſh enſued, in which many were wounded on both ſides. The whole city, commons as well as nobility, divided upon it; nor did the contagion confine itſelf to the city alone, but infected all the country. So ineffectual was this contemptible government of the ſignori to the ſuppreſſion of this animoſity, that the pope was applied to: he ſent his nuncio to no purpoſe, and then put the city under an interdict; but this anſwered no end but to increaſe the confuſion,

ſion, and frequent battles took place, till the whole city took arms, neither the power of the magiſtracy, nor the authority of the laws, being able to reſtrain the fury of the multitude. The wiſeſt and beſt of the citizens were in great terror; and the Donati, being the weaker party, not a little doubtful of their ſafety. Such is the effect of a government of all authority in one centre. Here all was concentrated in the ſignori, choſen by the people frequently enough; yet although the nobility were arbitrarily excluded from that council, thoſe who were choſen were indebted for their elections probably to thoſe very nobles, and chiefly to the Donati and Cherchi. The Donati here were the minority, upon the whole, and therefore had great reaſon to be doubtful of their ſafety. It was agreed, at a meeting betwixt Corſo Donati, the heads of the Neri family, and the captains of the arts, to ſolicit the pope to ſend ſome perſon of royal extraction to reform the city. Here nature breaks out, in ſpite of all attempts to ſtifle it. A royal dignity is the moſt obvious thought, to extinguiſh animoſities between nobles and commons. In this caſe the captains of the arts, that is, the people, perceived it, as well as Corſo and the Neri, the contending nobles. This meeting, and the reſult of it, was notified to the ſignori by the other party, who repreſented it as a conſpiracy againſt their liberty. Both ſides, however, were in arms again, and Dante, who was one of the ſignori, had the courage to adviſe that ſovereign aſſembly to draw out their companies, and being joined by great numbers out of the country, they found themſelves able to force the chiefs of each party to lay down their arms. The aſſumed an appearance of dignity, baniſhed Corſo and the Neri, and, to ſhew their impartiality, ſeveral of the Bianchi. But this government had no parmanent

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ſtrength: the Bianchi, upon plauſible pretences, were ſoon permitted to return. Corſo, and his aſſociates, obtained the ſame indulgence; but, inſtead of being quiet, they went at Rome, to perſuade the pope to appoint a perſon of royal extraction, as they had before petiitoned his holineſs in their letters. Charles of Valois, brother of the king of France, was ſent accordingly by the pope. Though the Bianchi family, who then had the upper hand in Florence, looked upon him with an evil eye, yet as he was patron of the Guelphs, and ſent by the pope, they durſt not oppoſe his coming: on the contrary, to make him their friend, they gave him full power to regulate the city as he thought beſt. He cauſed his friends to arm themſelves: this made the people ſo jealous that he intended to deprive them of what they called their liberties, that they took arms. The Cherchi, and the heads of the Bianchi, having had the chief government of the city ſome time in their hands, and behaved with great arrogance, were become generally odious; which encouraged Corſo, and others of the Neri who had fled, to return, upon an aſſurance that Charles and the captains of the art were their friends, and would ſupport them. Accordingly, whilſt the city was thus alarmed with the apprehenſions of Charles's deſigns, Corſo, with all his aſſociates, and many other of their followers, made their entry into it, without reſiſtance; and though Veri de Cherchi was called upon to oppoſe them, he declined it, and ſaid, "The people "might chaſtiſe them themſelves, if the pleaſed, "as they were likely to be the greateſt ſufferers "by them." But that inſinuation had no effect; for inſtead of chaſtiſing them, they received them with open arms, whilſt Veri was forced to fly for his ſafety. Corſo having forced his entrance at the

the Porto Pinte, drew up and made a ſtand near his own houſe; and being joined by great number of his friends and others, aſſembled in hopes of a change of government, he releaſed all priſoners, civil and criminal; diveſted the ſignori of their authority; choſe new magiſtrates, all of the party of the Neri, out of the people, to ſupply their places; and plundered the houſes of the Bianchi. The Cherchi, and the heads of their faction, ſeeing the people for the moſt part their enemies, and Charles not their friend, fled out of the city, and in their turn implored the interpoſition of the pope, though they would not liſten to his exhortations before. Such is the ſeries of alternate tragedy, comedy, and farce, which was called the liberty of Florence, during this collection of all authority into one centre, the ſignori; in which no man of any party could be one moment ſecure of his life, property, or liberty, amidſt continual exaltations and depreſſions of parties, in favour of different noble families, although thoſe nobles were all excluded from the government. The excluſion was but a form: nearly all the power was in their hands, and the ſignori in office were only alternate tools of one noble family or another. And thus it muſt ever be: exclude the ariſtocratical part of the community by laws as tyrannical as you will, they will ſtill govern the ſtate underhand; the perſons elected into office will be their tools, and, in conſtant fear of them, behave like mere puppets, danced upon their wires. But our humorous entertainment is not yet ended. The pope now, at the interceſſion of the Cherchi, ſent a legate Acqua Sparta, to Florence, who made an accomodation betwixt the Cherchi and Donati, and fortified it

by ſeveral intermarriages between them. But this ſpiritual policy: though deep and found, did not anſwer his end, for when he inſiſted that the Bianchi ſhould ſhare in the chief offices of the commonwealth, that was refuſed by the Neri, who were in full poſſeſſion of them. Upon this the legate left the city as diſſatisfied as ever, and excommunicated it a ſecond time for its contumacy. The Neri, however, ſeeing their old enemies in their boſom again, were not a little afraid they would uſe all means to ruin them, in order to recover their former authority; and both parties were ſtill diſcontented, and freſh occaſions of diſcord ſoon occurred. Niccolo de Cherchi, and Simone, a ſon of Corſo Donati, met and fought. The battle was ſo ſharp and bloody, that Niccolo was killed upon the ſpot, and Simone ſo deſperately wounded that he died the ſame night. This accident, as it is called, though an event ſpringing neceſſarily from the form of government and ſtate of parties, threw the whole city into an uproar again; and although it was altogether owing to the Neri, as Simone aſſaulted Niccolo, yet they were ſcreened by the magiſtracy, and, before judgment could be obtained, a conſpiracy was ſaid to be diſcovered betwixt the Bianchi and Pietro Ferrante, a nobleman who attended Charles of Valois, with whom they had been tampering, to purſuade his maſter to reinſtate them in the government. The plot was detected by ſome letters from the Cherchi to Pietro; though it was the common opinion they were forged by the Donati, to wipe off the odium they had incurred by the murder of Niccolo de Cherchi. All the family of the Cherchi, with many of their followers of the Bianchi party,

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and among the reſt Dante the poet*, were immediately ſent into baniſhment; their eſtates confiſcated, and their houſes demoliſhed, by the ſtrength of thoſe forged letters. After which their party, with many of the Ghibellines who had joined them, were diſperſed in different places.—The quiet that enſued was very ſhort, for Corſo Donati was diſſatisfied that he did not enjoy ſuch a degree of authority in Florence as he thought due to his merit, as the government was in the hands of the people, and conducted by thoſe who were much inferior to him in all reſpects. To varniſh over his deſigns and revenge with a fair pretext, he accuſed ſeveral citizens, who had been entruſted with public money, with embezzling it, and many were ignorant and credulous enough to believe that Corſo did this out of pure concern and affection for his country. The perſons thus calumniated were in favour with the people, and ſtood upon their juſtification, and, after many law-ſuits and long litigations, theſe diſputes grew to ſuch a height, that it became abſolutely neceſſary to take up arms. On one ſide were Corſo, and Lottieri, biſhop of Florence, with many of the nobility, and ſome of the commons; on the other were the ſignori, and the greater part of the people: nothing was to be ſeen but affrays and ſkirmiſhes, in every part of the city.—In ſuch a "right conſtitution" as this, ſuch a government of "the people's ſucceſſive ſovereign aſſemblies" as the ſignori were, the body of the nation never can be unanimous: all the moſt wealthy, beſt born, beſt educated, and ableſt men, will unanimouſly deſpiſe and deteſt the government; except a few artful hypocrites among them, who

* 1308. Nerli, p. 9.

will

will belye their judgments and feelings, for the ſake of a preſent popularity for ſome private ends. Thoſe who thus hate the form of government, will have numerous connections, relations, and dependents among the people, who will follow them; ſo that there never can be more than a ſmall mojority of the people on the ſide of government. Hence its conſtant weakneſs; hence it is a mere foot-ball, continually kicked from one ſide to another by three or four principal families. thus it appeared in this caſe: the ſignori, feeling their weakneſs, and perceiving themſelves in great danger, utterly unable to puniſh crimes, ſupport their friends, or curb their enemies, were obliged to ſend to Lucca, a foreign ſtate, for aid, and were fortunate enough to find all the people of that city willing to come to their aſſiſtance. The tumults were compoſed for a time, but the ſignori and people were too feeble to puniſh the author of the diſturbance.—This interval of tranquility was no more durable than former ones. The pope ſent his legate, Niccolo da Prato*, again, who ingratiated himſelf with the people, ſo that they gave him a commiſſion to new model the city. In order to obtain the recal of the Ghibelline faction from baniſhment, he flattered the people, by reſtoring their ancient cómpanies, which added much to their ſtrength, and diminiſhed that of the nobility. But the project of reſtoring the exiles was obnoxious to the ſignori, who forced the legate out of the city, which he put under an interdict at his departure, and left in the utmoſt confuſion. Two factions not being ſufficient, the city was now divided and ſubdivided into ſeveral; as thoſe of the people and

* 1303. Nerli, p. 9.

nobility

nobility, the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Bianchi and the Neri; and ſome who wiſhed for the return of the exiles, being diſappointed in their hopes, now the legate was gone, grew clamorous and outrageous: ſo that the whole city was in an uproar, and many ſkirmiſhes enſued. Thoſe that were moſt active in raiſing this clamour, were the Medici and Giugni, who had openly cided with the legate in favour of the exiles. This is the firſt mention made of that family of Medici, who acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a part afterwards, finally ſubverted the commonwealth, and changed it into an abſolute ſovereignty, under the title of a grand dukedom, a form it ſtill wears.—A great fire broke out at this time, in 1304, and was aſcribed, as uſual in ſuch times, by ſome to accident, and by ſome to party deſign.—Let us look back to 1282, when this government of priori or ſignori, choſen every two months by the people, was eſtabliſhed: from thence to 1304 is only twenty-two years, in which we ſee a conſtant quarrel between the nobility and people, and between one party of nobles and another, and the neighbouring ſtates of Naples, Rome, and Lucca, in turn, called in to aid the different factions; alternate murders, baniſhments, confiſcations, and civil wars, as one party and the other prevailed; and, inſtead of a government, and a ſyſtem of juſtice and liberty, conſtant anarchy, and the perpetual rolling of a mob. In this year, 1304, Florence was viſited, in this lamentable manner, with fire and ſword. Corſo Donati was the only perſon of any diſtinction who did not take up arms: he thought, that when all parties grew tired of fighting, he was the more likely to be called in, arbitrator to decide their differences. They ſoon after laid down their arms, more out of

of wearineſs of their miſeries, and that they might have time to take breath, than from any real deſire of being re-united, and living in peace. It was only ſtipulated, that the exiles ſhould not be ſuffered to return; which was agreed to by thoſe that favoured them, merely becauſe they proved to be the weaker ſide.

New diſturbances ariſing, the pope was adviſed by his legate to ſummon to Rome twelve of the principal malecontents of Florence, among whom was Corſo Donati. They readily obeyed the ſummons.—As ſoon as they were ſet out upon their journey, the legate acquainted the exiles, that now was their time to return to Florence, as the city was then clear of the only men that had authority enough to oppoſe their entrance. Drawing together what forces they could, they immediately marched, and entered the city: but thoſe very citizens, who, but a little before, had exerted themſelves in the moſt ſtrenuous manner for their return, when they petitioned in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive manner to be admitted, were the firſt that took up arms againſt them, now they ſaw them approach in a hoſtile manner, and joined with the people to drive them back. One is, however, aſtoniſhed at the reflection of Machiavel, "Such was the ſpirit of patriotiſm amongſt "them in thoſe days, that they chearfully gave "up their private intereſts for the public good," when every page of his hiſtory ſhews, that the public good was ſacrificed every day, by all parties, to their private intereſts, friendſhips, and enmities.—After the exiles were repulſed, the citizens relapſed into their former diſtractions; and, after much violence, the governors of the commonwealths re-eſtabliſhed the companies of the people, and reſtored the colours under which the arts had

had formerly been uſed to aſſemble. The captains, ſtandard-bearers of the companies, and the officers of juſtice, were called together, and ordered not only to aſſiſt the ſignori in times of peace with their counſel, but to ſupport and defend them, by dint of arms, in all exigencies and commotions. To aſſiſt the two judges, who had been conſtituted in the beginning of their ſtate, they appointed an officer, called il eſzecutore, or ſheriff, who was to act in conjunction with the ſtandard-bearers, and ſee their orders carried into execution, whenever the nobility ſhould be guilty of any enormity or act of oppreſſion. The pope died, and Corſo and the other eleven citizens returned, whoſe reſtleſs ambition occaſioned ſuch troubles. Corſo, in order to make himſelf popular, conſtantly oppoſed the nobility in all their ſchemes, and, which way ſoever he obſerved the people to incline, he turned all his authority to ſupport them in it, and gain their affection: ſo that in all conteſt and diviſions, or when they had any extraordinary point to carry, they always reſorted to him, and put themſelves under his directions. Machiavel indeed obſerves, "that "all might now have lived in peace, if the reſtleſs "ambition of Corſo had not occaſioned freſh "troubles." But in this Machiavel is miſtaken: if Corſo had not exiſted, the people would have found ſome other leader and confident. When the people feel that the government is unable or unwilling to protect them againſt the oppreſſions of the nobles, they always ſeek out a Caſſius, Mælius, Manlius, or Corſo, to aſſiſt the government to protect them, or to erect a new government that will be able and willing. It is the defect in the government, and the wants of the people, that excite and inſpirit the ambition of private

private men. To be ſure, the man of any diſtinction, who liſtens to the complaints of the people in ſuch caſes, whether from ambition or humanity, always creates himſelf much hatred and envy among the moſt conſiderable citizens. In this caſe theſe paſſions increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the faction of the Neri divided and quarrelled among themſelves. To alienate the affections of the people from him, they gave out, as the ariſtocracy always does in ſuch caſes, that he ſecretly deſigned to ſeize upon the government, and make himſelf king; and his magnificent manner of living, and marriage into the family of Faygiuola, head of the Bianchi and Ghibellines, made it eaſily believed. His enemies took up arms againſt him and the greater part of the people, inſtead of appearing in his defence, forſook him, and joined his adverſaries. He was impeached, refuſed to obey the ſummons, was declared a contumacious rebel. A civil war enſued; many were killed on both ſides. After a furious defence, Corſo threw himſelf from his horſe, and was killed. Such was the unfortunate end * of Corſo Donati, to whom his country and the Neri owed much, both of their good and bad fortune; one of the moſt eminent men that Florence ever produced. But Machiavel ſhould have laid the blame upon the conſtitution, not upon the reſtleſs diſpoſition or turbulent ſpirit of Corſo; becauſe it is impoſſible for a man of Corſo's genius, valour and activity, in ſuch a government, not to be reſtleſs and turbulent; he is never ſafe himſelf, and large bodies of people are continually flattering and ſoliciting him, while others are threatening and perſecuting him. No nation has a right to blame

* Nerli, p. 9.

ſuch

ſuch a citizen, until they have eſtabliſhed a form of government that is capable of protecting him on one ſide, and the people againſt him on the other. This flimſy ſovereignty of the ſignori was inadequate to either purpoſe.

After the death of Corſo, in 1308, the exiles from Florence excited Henry*, the emperor, to a war againſt that city, for their reſtoration: the magiſtrates applied to Robert, king of Naples, and gave him the government of the city for five years, to defend it, and protect them. This ſtorm, after raging ſome time, blew over, by the death of the emperor †. The Ghibellines then, under the command of Faggiuola, renewed the war, by making themſelves maſters of Piſa, and committing depredations on the Florentine territories. The Florentines fought him, and were totally defeated. They then applied to king Robert ‡ for another general; he ſent them the count di Andria, whoſe bad conduct, "added," ſays Machiavel, "to the impatient temper of the Flo-" rentines, which is ſoon tired with any form of " government, and ready to fall into factions " upon every accident," occaſioned the city to divide again. Machiavel's ſeverity ought however, to have been applied to the form of government, not to the temper of the people, the latter being but the natural and neceſſary effect of the former. In ſuch a government the people have no protection or ſecurity; they are continually oppreſſed, vexed, and irritated, by one faction or another, one ally or enemy or another, one aſpiring citizen or family or another, againſt whoſe uſurpations, as the conſtitution affords no redreſs, they are obliged to recur to arms and a

* Nerli, p. 10. † Ibid.
‡ Nerli, p. 10. Muratori, Annal. tom. viii. p. 40.

change of government. The Florentines, in this caſe, ſought aſſiſtance from France and Germany, but could obtain none: they were determined, however, to carry their point, took arms, drove the count out of the city, and ſent for one Lando, of Agobbio, and made him their eſſecutore, or rather dictator or executioner*, with full power over all the citizens. Lando, being naturally rapacious and cruel, went about the city with a gang of armed men at his heels, hanging up one man and then another, as thoſe who had ſent for him gave him directions; and at laſt grew ſo inſolent, that he coined bad money with the Florentine ſtamp, which nobody had courage enough to oppoſe, to ſuch a height of power had he arrived by the diſſenſions of the citizens! Miſerable indeed was the condition of the city at that time, which neither the bitter remembrance of the evils produced by their former diſſenſions, nor the dread of a foreign enemy at their gates, nor the authority of a king, was ſufficient to keep united; though their poſſeſſions were daily ravaged and plundered abroad by Faggiuola, and at home by Lando. The nobility, moſt of the conſiderable commons, and all the Guelphs, took the king's ſide, and hated Lando and thoſe who ſupported him; and, to free themſelves from ſo ignominious a yoke, they wrote to king Robert privately, and intreated him to appoint count Guido his lieutenant at Florence, which he readily complied with; and the other party, though they had the ſignori on their ſide, durſt not venture to oppoſe a man of ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation. But the count ſoon found he had very little authority in the city, as the magiſtracy, and the ſtandard-bearers of the ſeveral

* Nerli, p. 10.

companies,

companies, openly favoured Lando and his friends. Soon afterwards the citizens were reconciled and united under the king, by the friendly counſel of his daughter-in-law, and Lando, deprived of his authority, was ſent back to Agobbio ſatiated with blood and rapine*, The government of the king of Naples was continued three years longer; and as the ſeven who were then in the ſignori were all of Lando's party, ſix others were added to them of the king's, and they continued thirteen for ſome time, but were afterwards reduced to ſeven again.

About this time Caſtruccio Caſtracani† drove out Faggiuola, and ſucceeded him in the government of Lucca and Piſa. The Florentines had enough to do to obſtruct the growth of the power of this ſpirited and fortunate youth at the head of the Ghibelline intereſt, and to defend themſelves againſt him. That the ſignori in this war might proceed with maturer deliberation, and execute with greater authority, they choſe twelve citizens, whom they called buonhomini, without whoſe advice and conſent the ſignori were not to paſs any act of importance. But this effort of nature to form a balance to this ſimple government was of ſhort duration: the dominion of king Robert expired, and the government once more reverted to the citizens, who ſet up the ſame form of magiſtracy that had been formerly inſtituted. The whole city was ſoon obliged to march againſt Caſtruccio, to the relief of Prato, and a proclamation was iſſued by the ſignori, that every exile of the Guelph party, who came in to the relief of Prato, ſhould afterwards have liberty to return home. This policy added four thouſand men to

* Nerli, p. 11. † Ibid.

their

their army, which before conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe. Caſtruccio, afraid of ſo formidable a force, retreated to Lucca. Upon this retreat, great diſputes aroſe in the Florentine camp, between the nobility and people, about purſuing Caſtruccio: theſe debates were referred to the ſignori, which conſiſting at this time of commoners as well as of nobility, was as much divided in opinion. Upon this the people roſe in a tumult, and forced the ſignori to give way to them; but it was now too late to follow Caſtruccio, and the people were ſo exaſperated, that they would not ſuffer the public faith to be kept with the exiles. The nobility had ſome regard to their honour, though the people had not, and took the part of the exiles, which produced another civil war. As it generally happens in all commonwealths, that after any revolution or remarkable criſis ſome or other of the old laws are abrogated, and new ones made in their room, ſo though the ſignori at firſt was changed every two months, yet the magiſtrates who were now in office, having great power, took upon themſelves to conſtitute a ſignori out of all the moſt conſiderable citizens, to continue forty months, whoſe names were to be put into a bag or purſe, which was called imborſation, and a certain number of them drawn out by lot at the end of every ſecond month; whereas before, when the old magiſtrates went out of office, new ones were always choſen by the council. As the council conſiſted only of the moſt conſiderable citizens, the government was before but a ſelf-created, or at leaſt ſelf-continued ariſtocracy: now it was equally ſo, with this difference only, that lot was ſubſtituted in the room of choice. As the lot was not to be now renewed till after a term of above three years, it was thought they

they had extinguiſhed the cauſes of all ſuch diſguſts and tumults as uſed to happen from the frequent return of elections, and the number of competitors for the magiſtracy; not being aware how little advantage and how many miſchiefs were likely to flow from it.

In 1325, in a war with Caſtruccio, the Florentines were betrayed by their general Raymondo. This man ſaw that the Florentines had been ſo liberal in diſpoſing of themſelves, that they had ſometimes conferred their government upon kings, ſometimes upon legates, and ſometimes upon perſons of much inferior quality; he thought, if he could reduce them to any extremity, they perhaps would make him their prince: he was very importunate with them to give him the ſame command in the city that he had over their army, as he pretended he could not otherwiſe either require or expect that neceſſary obedience which was due to a general. Not being gratified, he trifled and delayed, till he was attacked and defeated, with great ſlaughter, and the loſs of his own life; receiving that puniſhment from the hands of fortune, that his ambition and perfidy had merited from the Florentines. The havoc, the depredations, impriſonments, burnings, and every other kind of devaſtation made by Caſtruccio upon the Florentines after this victory, forced them to offer their government to Charles duke of Calabria*, ſon of king Robert, upon condition that he would defend them; for as that family had been uſed to rule over them, they choſe rather to ſhelter themſelves under him as their prince, than to truſt him as an ally. But Charles, being engaged in the wars of Sicily, ſent Gualtier, a Frenchman, and duke of

* Nerli, p. 12.

Athens,

Athens, as his lieutenant, who new-modelled the magiſtracy as he thought fit. His behaviour was, in appearance, at firſt ſo modeſt and temperate, that he gained the affections of every one.

In 1326 Charles came in perſon with a thouſand horſe, and his preſence gave ſome check to Caſtruccio, and prevented him from roving and plundering the country as he dad done: but if the citizens ſaved any thing abroad, it was loſt again at home; and when their enemies were curbed, they became a prey to the inſolence and oppreſſion of their friends. As the ſignori were entirely under the influeuce of the duke of Athens, he exacted four hundred thouſand florins from the city, in one year, though it was expreſsly ſtipulated in the agreement made with him, that he ſhould not raiſe above two hundred thouſand in the whole; beſides which, either Charles or his father were continually laying ſome heavy tax or other upon the citizens. Theſe miſeries were ſtill increaſed by new jealouſies, freſh enemies, and more extenſive wars, in which all the neighbouring powers were involved, till ſuddenly Caſtruccio, and Charles, duke of Calabria and lord of Florence, both died. The Florentines, unexpectedly delivered from the oppreſſion of one, and dread of the other, and having once more recovered their liberty, began to reform the commonwealth. They abrogated the ordinances of all former councils, and created two new ones, one of which conſiſted of three hundred of the commons, and the other of two hundred and fifty of both commoners and nobility: the former was called the council of the people, and the latter the common council.

After the death of Caſtruccio, in 1328, till the year

year 1340, the Florentines continued wholly intent upon their affairs and wars abroad. In 1340 new diſturbances aroſe at home. The governors of the city had two ways of maintaining and increaſing their authority: one was, by managing the imborſations in ſuch a manner as always to ſecure the ſignori either to themſelves, or their creatures; the other, by getting judges choſen who they knew would be favourable to them in their ſentences. And how is it poſſible, in any ſimple government, to prevent ſuch management, to draw all the legiſlative, executive, and judicial power into one centre, and that centre a junto of ariſtocratics? But in this caſe, not content with two judges, the governors ſometimes conſtituted a third, whom they called captain of the guards; with which office they now veſted Jacomo d'Agobbio, and gave him an abſolute power over the citizens. This Jacomo, under the direction of the governors, behaved with the moſt ſhameleſs inſolence and partiality, daily injuring or affronting ſomebody or other. Some who were nobly born, and men of high ſpirit, were provoked to ſuch a degree, that a ſtranger ſhould be introduced into the city by a few of their fellow-citizens who had the power in their hands, on purpoſe to inſult and abuſe all the reſt, that they entered into a conſpiracy, with many other noble families, and ſome of the commoners, that were diſguſted at ſo tyrannical a government, to revenge themſelves; hence a conſpiracy, that again involved the city in blood, in 1340. By artifice and force together, the ſignori prevailed, and ſuppreſſed the conſpiracy, beheading ſome, and proclaiming ſeveral other families rebels*. How-

* Nerli, p. 14.

ever,

ever, it did not ſatiate the revenge of thoſe in adminiſtration, to have conquered and ſuppreſſed thoſe families: but, like almoſt all other men, whoſe inſolence commonly increaſes with their power, they grew more imperious and arbitrary as they grew ſtronger; for though they had only one captain of the guards to tyranniſe over the city before, they now appointed another to reſide in the country, and veſted him with very great authority; ſo that any one who was in the leaſt obnoxious to government could not live quietly, either within the city or without it. The nobility, in particular, were daily abuſed and inſulted by them in ſuch a manner, that they only waited for an opportunity to revenge themſelves at any rate; and as one ſoon happened, they did not fail to take advantage of it. The Florentines had purchaſed Lucca, and carried on a war to recover it; but, after a long ſtruggle, were driven out of it, with much diſhonour, and the loſs of all their purchaſe-money. This diſaſter, as it uſually happens in like caſes, threw the people of Florence into ſuch a rage againſt their governors, that they publicly inſulted and upbraided them with their ill conduct and adminiſtration, in all places, and upon every opportunity.

In the beginning of the war, the management of it had been committed to twenty citizens, who appointed Malateſta de Rimini commander in chief of their forces in that expedition: but as he executed that charge with little courage, and leſs diſcretion, they ſolicited Robert, king of Naples, for ſupplies; which he accordingly ſent them, under the command of Gualtier, duke of Athens, who, as the evil deſtiny of the city would have it, arrived there juſt at the time when the enterpriſe againſt Lucca had miſcarried.

The

The duke of Athens, arrived at this time*, and the governors being in great fear of the multitude, made him conſervator of the peace and commander in chief, that he might have both authority and power enough to defend them. The nobility now reſolved to take their revenge, even though it ſhould occaſion the deſtruction of the city; imagining there was no other way left to get the better of the people, who had ſo long domineered over them, but to reduce them into ſubjection to a prince, who, being well acquainted with the worth and generoſity of the nobility, and the inſolence of the commons, might treat both parties according to their deſerts. They had many private meetings to purſuade the duke to take the government wholly into his hands, and promiſed to ſupport him with all their intereſt and power. Several of the moſt conſiderable commoners joined them, particularly the families of the Peruzzi, Acciaivoli, Antelleſi, and Buonaccorſi. Such encouragement, and ſo fair an opportunity, inflamed the duke, who was naturally ambitious, with a ſtill greater thirſt of power; and to ingratiate himſelf with the lower ſort of the people, by acting like a juſt and upright magiſtrate, he ordered a proceſs to be commenced againſt thoſe that had been entruſted with the management of the late war againſt the Lucchefe: in conſequence of which Giovanni de Medici and two others were put to death, ſeveral others baniſhed, and many obliged to pay large ſums of money for their pardon. This ſevere manner of proceeding alarmed the middle ſort of citizens, though it was very grateful to the nobility and common people, as the latter generally take pleaſure in executions, and

* Nerli, p. 15.

the

the former were not a little rejoiced at the fall of thoſe by whom they had been ſo grievouſly oppreſſed: ſo that, whenever the duke paſſed through the ſtreets, they reſounded with acclamations and praiſes of his juſtice and reſolution, while every one exhorted him to perſevere in his endeavours to detect the guilty, and bring them to condign puniſhment. Notwithſtanding all the expoſtulations of the ſignori, in 1342, in an aſſembly of all the people, the government was given to the duke for life, and he was carried about in a chair, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude; the ſtandard of the city was torn to pieces, and the duke's planted in his ſtead, at which all the good citizens were infinitely grieved and mortified, whilſt thoſe who, either out of malice or ſtupidity, had conſented to this election, did not a little rejoice.

Machiavel's next taſk is to give us a detail of the duke's tyrannical behaviour, which was as wild, cruel, and mad, as all other tyrannies have been which were created on the ruins of a republic. The duke perceived the general odium he had incurred; but affected to think himſelf extremely beloved. He was informed of a plot againſt him, in which the family of the Medici, and others, were concerned; but he ordered the informer to be put to death. He cut out the tongue of Bettoni for complaining of heavy taxes, &c. His outrages were ſufficient to rouſe the Florentines, who neither knew how to value their liberty, nor endure ſlavery, ſays Machiavel. But the truth is, they had no liberty to value, and nothing but ſlavery to endure: their conſtitution was no protection of right; their laws never governed. They were ſlaves to every freak and paſſion, every party and faction, every aſpiring or diſappointed noble: ſometimes

ſometimes to the pope, ſometimes to the king of Naples, ſometimes to Lando; ſometimes to one nobleman, ſometimes to another; ſometimes to their own ſignori, and ſometimes to their captains of arts. If the word republic muſt be uſed to ſignify every government in which more than one man has a ſhare, this muſt be called by that name it is true; but a republic and a free government may be different things.

There were now three conſpiracies on foot againſt the duke at once; but each conſpiracy was a new ſyſtem of tyranny, and aimed only at introducing one ſyſtem inſtead of another, inſtead of any concert, or reaſonable combination, to take down a bad government and ſet up a good one. The three natural diviſions of ſociety formed three different plots to ſet up a new tyranny, each in its own way: the nobility had one plot, the commons another, and the artificers a third. What ideas of the rights of mankind muſt theſe people have entertained! The commons had been deprived of the government, and they had no idea that the nobility or artiſans had any rights; the nobility were not reſtored to the government, which was all they wanted; and the artiſans had loſt their buſineſs; but none of theſe orders could communicate with the others. Aſſaſſinations of the duke ſeems to have been all the object in view, as if that would remedy all the evils: the plots, however, were too freely communicated, and at laſt were told to the duke.

In 1343 the city was all in a tumult, and "Liberty, liberty!" was the cry. A war was carried on in the city, and each party changed ſides ſeveral times; but, after long diſtractions, and much bloodſhed and devaſtation, the duke was blocked up in the palace, and the citizens aſſembled

aſſembled to reform the government. Fourteen perſons, one half of them of the nobility, and the other commoners, with the archbiſhop, had full power given them to new-model the ſtate. The judicial department was committed to fix magiſtrates, who were to adminiſter juſtice till the arrival of the perſon who ſhould be choſen to fill that office. "Greater, certainly," ſays Machiavel, "and more cruel, is the reſentment of the people when they have recovered their liberty, than when they are acting in defence of it; and an inſtance of brutal ferocity happened here that is a diſgrace to human nature. The people inſiſted upon ſome perſons being delivered up to them, and among them a father and ſon; when theſe were brought out and delivered up to thouſands of their enemies: and though the ſon was not eighteen, yet neither his youth nor innocence, nor the gracefulneſs of his perſon, were ſufficient to protect him from the rage of the multitude. Many who could not get near enough to reach them whilſt they were alive, thruſt their ſwords into them after they were dead; and not content with this, they tore their carcaſſes to pieces with their nails and teeth, that ſo all their ſenſes might be glutted with revenge; and after they had feaſted their ears with their groans, their eyes with their wounds, and their touch with tearing the fleſh off their bones, as if all this was not enough, the taſte likewiſe muſt have its ſhare and be gratified. This is Machiavel's deſcription of this ſavage barbarity; and his words are here preſerved, that it may be ſeen and conſidered, that human nature is the ſame in a mob as upon a throne, and that unbridled paſſions are at leaſt as brutal and diabolical, and unlimited power as tyrannical, in a mob as in a monarch or ſenate:

ſenate: they are worſe; for there is always a number among them who are under leſs reſtraints of ſhame and decency. After the people were thus ſatiated with blood, the duke and his friends were ſuffered to withdraw with their effects unmoleſted out of Florence. After ſome diſputes between the nobility and people, it was agreed that one third of the ſignori, and one half of the other magiſtrates and other officers of ſtate, ſhould conſiſt of the nobility. The city was divided into ſix parts, each of which choſe one of the ſignori; and though it ſometimes happened that their number was increaſed to twelve or thirteen, yet they were afterwards again reduced to ſix. But as theſe ſix parts were not duly proportioned, and they deſigned to give more power and authority to the nobility, it was neceſſary to make a new regulation in this point, and to increaſe the number of ſignori. They divided the city therefore into quarters, and choſe three of the ſignori out of each. The ſtandard-bearer of juſtice, and thoſe of the ſeveral companies, were laid aſide; and inſtead of the twelve buonhomini, they created eight counſellors, four of each quality.

"The commonwealth," ſays Machiavel, "being "ſettled upon this bottom, might have continued "quiet and happy, if the nobility could have "been content to confine themſelves within the "bounds of that moderation which is requiſite "in all republican governments." It is impoſſible to read theſe grave reflections of Machiavel and Nedham, ſo often repeated, with patience. It would be as wiſe to ſay, that the nation might be quiet and happy under a deſpot or monarch, if the deſpot or monarch, and his miniſters and minions, could be content and moderate; or that the commonwealth might be happy under an oligarchy or ſimple ariſtocracy, if all

all concerned in government could be content and moderate. When we know human nature to be utterly incapable of this content, why ſhould we ſuppoſe it? Human nature is querulous and diſcontented wherever it appears, and almoſt all the happineſs it is capable of ariſes from this diſcontented humour. It is action, not reſt, that conſtitutes our pleaſure. All we have to do is to guard and provide againſt this quality; we cannot eradicate it. "But the behaviour of the nobility was quite the contrary," ſays Machiavel; "for as they always diſdained the thoughts of "equality, even when they lived a private life, ſo "now they were in the magiſtracy they thought to "domineer over the whole city, and every day "produced freſh inſtances of their pride and arro"gance; which exceedingly galled the people, "when they ſaw they had depoſed one tyrant, "only to make room for a thouſand." All this one may ſafely believe to be exactly true; but what then? Why, they ought to have ſeparated the nobles from the commons, and made each independent on the other. Mixed together, in equal halves, the nobles will for ever tyranniſe. The inſolence of one ſide, and the indignation and impatience of the other, at laſt increaſed to ſuch a height, that both ſides flew to arms, and the people, being moſt numerous, carried their point, and deprived the nobles in the ſignori of their authority: the four counſellors of their order were alſo turned out of their offices, and the remaining number increaſed to twelve, which conſiſted of commoners only. Beſides which, the eight which remained in the ſignori not only made a new ſtandard-bearer of juſtice, and ſixteen other ſtandard-bearers over the companies of the people, but modelled all the councils in ſuch a manner, that the

the government was now entirely in the hands of the people; and we ſhall ſoon ſee how well it operated.—There happened a great dearth in Florence, ſo that there were grievous diſcontents both among the nobility and common people; the former repining at the loſs of their authority, and the latter murmuring for want of bread. Andrea Strozzi ſold corn as cheap as Mælius did in Rome. This drew ſuch numbers to his houſe, that he boldly mounted his horſe one morning, and putting himſelf at the head of them, called upon all the reſt of the people to take up arms: by which means he got together above four thouſand men in leſs than an hour, and conducting them to the palace of the ſignori, demanded the doors of it to be thrown open to him. This attempt was too bold and raſh to ſucceed; yet it gave the nobility freſh hopes of recovering their power, now they ſaw *the inferior ſort of people* ſo incenſed *againſt the commons*. They reſolved to take arms, and make uſe of all manner of allies to regain that by force which they conceived had been taken from them with ſo much injuſtice; and to inſure ſucceſs, they provided themſelves with arms, fortified their houſes, and ſent to their friends in Lombardy for ſupplies. The commons and the ſignori, on the other hand, were no leſs buſy in arming themſelves, and ſent to the Sieneſe and Perugians to deſire their aſſiſtance; ſo that when the auxiliaries on each ſide arrived the wholv city was ſoon in arms.—We ought to pauſe here, and remark a combination of parties that is perfectly natural, though it has ſeldom occurred in the hiſtory of any nation ſo diſtinctly as to be deſcanted on by hiſtorians or politicians. Here is as diſtinct a diviſion between the commons and the lower claſs, as there ever was between nobles and commons.

commons. By the commons in this place are meant, thoſe citizens who in every nation of the world are commonly denominated *the middling people*, who, it muſt be confeſſed, have been, in all ages and countries, the moſt induſtrious and frugal, and every way the moſt virtuous part of the community. In all countries they have ſome influence in many they have had ſome ſhare in the government: but no inſtance but this is at preſent recollected where they have ever had a ſoverignty in their hands, excluſive both of the higheſt and loweſt claſſes of citizens. As if it had been the intention of Providence to exhibit to mankind a demonſtration, that power has the ſame effects upon all minds, we find in this inſtance the Florentine commons diſcovering the ſame diſpoſition to tyranniſe over all above and all below them, as clearly as ever kings, nobles, or mobs, diſcovered it when they had the power. The nobility drew up in three diviſions. The commons, aſſembled under the ſtandard of juſtice, and the colours of their reſpective companies, and under the command of the Medici, immediately attacked one of the diviſions of the nobility. At this time the Medici were only commoners: we ſhall hereafter ſee that they became nobles and ſovereigns, and have placed ſons and daughters on ſome of the thrones of Europe. The action was hot and bloody for three hours, during which they had great ſtones tumbled down upon their heads from the tops of the houſes, and were terribly galled with croſs-bows below. All parties behaved with an obſtinate bravery, that would have done honour to any good cauſe; but it is unneceſſary to relate all the attacks and defences, and all the viciſſitudes of fortune, in the courſe of the civil war: the numbers of the commoners finally prevailed, "upon which,"

" which," ſays Machiavel, " the people, eſpe-
" cially the inferior ſort of them, naturally rapa-
" cious and greedy of ſpoil, began to plunder
" the houſes of the nobility, which they after-
" wards burnt down to the ground; and commited
" ſuch other outrages, as the bittereſt enemy to
" the city of Florence would have been aſhamed
" of." The nobility being in this manner entirely ſubdued, the people took upon them to reform the ſtate; and as there were three degrees of them, it was ordained, that the higheſt rank ſhould have the nomination of two of the ſignori, the middle ſort of three, and the loweſt of three more, and that the ſtandard-bearer of juſtice ſhould be choſen by turns out of all three. The old laws were revived and put in execution againſt the nobility; and, to reduce them ſtill more effectually, many of them were incorporated with the other claſſes *. By theſe means they were brought ſo low, that they became abject and puſilanimous, and never durſt riſe any more againſt the people: ſo that being deprived of their arms and honours, their ſpirit and generoſity likewiſe ſeemed to be extinguiſhed. After this depreſſion of the nobles, the plague, of which above ninety-ſix thouſand people died in Florence, and a war with the Vicenti, kept the city in tranquility till 1353. The war being ended, new factions ſprung up in the city: for though the nobility were ruined, fortune found other means to raiſe freſh troubles and diſſenſions.

The bitter animoſities which generally happen between the people and the nobility, from an ambition in the one to command, and a reluctance in the other to obey, are the natural ſources of thoſe

* Nerli, p. 18. Molti avveliti ſi fanno popolani.

calamities that are incident to commonwealths; for all other evils that uſually diſturb their peace are both occaſioned and fomented by this contrariety of diſpoſitions. It was this that kept Rome ſo long divided. This alſo gave birth to the factions that ſprung up in Florence; though indeed it produced very different effects at laſt in the two cities: for the diſputes that firſt aroſe between the nobility and the people of Rome were determined by reaſon and expoſtulation; but thoſe at Florence by the ſword. In Rome, that was affected by the laws, which in Florence could hardly be done by the baniſhment and death of numbers of their citizens. The quarrels of the Romans ſtill added to their ſpirit and military virtue; while thoſe of the Florentines utterly extinguiſhed them. The former deſtroyed that equality which was at firſt eſtabliſhed, and introduced a prodigious deſparity among the citizens: the latter, on the contrary, aboliſhed all ſuperiority or difference of rank, and put every man upon the ſame level. This diverſity of effects muſt certainly have proceeded from a difference of views. The people of Rome deſired no more than to ſhare with the nobility in the adminiſtration of the commonwealth; but the people of Florence were not deſirous to have the government of the ſtate to themſelves, but uſed violent meaſures, and took up arms to exclude their nobles from any part in it: and as the terms of the Rome people were more moderate, their demands ſeemed not unreaſonable to the nobility, who therefore complied with them; ſo that, after ſome little bickerings, and without coming to an open rupture, a law was made, by which the people were ſatisfied, at leaſt for a time, and the nobles continued in their honours and offices. On the

the other hand, the demands of the Florentine people were ſo extravagant and injurious, that the nobility took up arms to ſupport their privileges, and their quarrels grew to ſuch a height, that numbers were either baniſhed or ſlain before they could be ended; and the laws afterwards made, were calculated rather for the private advantage of the victors, than for the good of the public. The ſucceſs of the people of Rome made that ſtate more powerful; for as they were equally admitted to govern the commonwealth, and to command their armies and provinces, with the nobility, they became inſpired with the ſame virtue and magnanimity; and as they grew more public ſpirited, their power alſo increaſed. But in Florence, when the people had ſubdued the nobility, they diveſted them of all manner of authority, and left them no poſſibility of recovering any part of it, except they would entirely conform to their cuſtoms and manner of living, and not only ſubmit to appear, but to be commoners like themſelves. And this was the reaſon that induced them to change their arms and vary their titles, and the names of their families, which was ſo frequent in thoſe times among the nobility, in order to inſinuate themſelves into the affections of the people: ſo that the military ſpirit, and greatneſs of ſoul, for which the nobility had been held in ſuch veneration, was utterly extinguiſhed, and not by any means to be raiſed in the people, where there were no ſeeds of it; by which means Florence became every day more abject and puſillanimous. And whereas Rome at laſt became ſo powerful and wanton by the effect of its virtue, that it could not be governed otherwiſe than by one prince; Florence was reduced ſo low, that a wiſe legiſlator might eaſily have modelled it, and given it what form he pleaſed.

The

The factions between the nobility and the commons, which ended in the utter ruin of the former, have been already related; but peace was not obtained. All authority was in one centre, the commons; and there were other orders of citizens, who were not ſatisfied; the ſame conteſt therefore continued, under a new form and new names. They now happened between the commons and plebeians, which were only new names, in reality, for a new nobility and commons: the commons now took the place of the nobility, and the plebeians that of the commons. Machiavel is as clear and full for a mixed government as any writer: but the noble invention of the negative of an executive, upon a legiſlature in two branches, which is the only remedy in conteſts between nobles and commons, ſeems never to have entered his thoughts; and nothing is more entertaining than that miſt which is perpetually before eyes ſo piercing, ſo capable of looking ſo far through the hearts and deeds of men as his, for want of that thought. "There ſeemed to be no ſeeds of fu-"ture diſſenſions left in Florence." No ſeeds! Not one ſeed had been eradicated: all the ſeeds that ever exiſted remained in full vigour. The ſeeds were in the human heart; and were as ready to ſhoot in the commons and plebeians, as they had been in the nobles. "But the civil deſtiny of our "city, and want of good conduct, occaſioned a "new emulation between the families of the Al-"bizi and the Ricci*, which produced as fatal "diviſions

* Erano in que' tempi coſi fatti gli Albizi, e' Ricci due famiglie popolane intra l'altre di gran reputazione, e di molto ſeguito, per eſſer di parentado grandiſſimo, ed erano inciaſcheduna di eſſe, uomini grandi, e reputati, e che aſpiravano molto alli primi gradi del governo, e alla grandezza dello ſtato

" diviſions as thoſe between the Buondelmonti and " Uberti, and the other between the Cherchi and " Donati, had done before." It was no evil deſtiny peculiar to Florence: it is common to every city, nation, village, and club. The evil deſtiny is in human nature. And if they plebeians had prevailed over the common, as theſe had done over the nobility, ſome two plebeian families would have appeared upon the ſtage, with all the emulation of the Albiza and Ricci, to occaſion diviſions and diſſenſions, ſeditions and rebellions, confiſcations and baniſhments, aſſaſſinations, conflagrations, and maſſacres, and all other ſuch good things as appear for ever to recommend a ſimple government in every form. When it is found in experience, and appears probable in theory, that ſo ſimple an invention as a ſeparate executive, with power to defend itſelf, as a full remedy againſt the fatal effects of diſſenſions between nobles and commons, why ſhould we ſtill finally hope that ſimple governments, or mixtures of two ingredients only, will produce effects which they never did, and we know never can? Why ſhould the people be ſtill deceived with inſinuationss that thoſe evils aroſe from the deſtiny of a particular city, when we know that deſtiny is common to all mankind? " Betwixt the two families of Albiza and Ricci " there was a mortal hatred, each conſpiring the " deſtruction of the other, in order to engroſs the " ſole management of the commonwealth with " leſs difficulty *. However, they had not as yet " taken

ſtato loro, e pero traendo ad un medeſimo ſegno, era tra loro l'odio, e l'emulazione, ma non già erano venuti a manifeſta diviſione, nè all' armi, per iuſino all' anno 1353. Nerli, p. 21.

* E pero Ugueccione de Ricci reſtringendoſi, come capo di quella

"taken up arms, or proceeded to open violence "on either ſide, but only thwarted each other in "council, and the execution of their offices."—A private quarrel happened in the market, and a rumour was inſtantly ſpread, nobody knew by whom, that the Ricci were going to attack the Albizi; and by others it was ſaid, that the Albizi were preparing to fall upon the Ricci. Theſe ſtories were carried to both parties, and occaſioned ſuch an uproar throughout the whole city, that the magiſtrates found it very difficult to keep the two families, and their friends, from coming to a battle in earneſt; though neither ſide had intended any ſuch thing, as was maliciouſly reported. This diſturbance, though accidental, inflamed their former animoſities, and determined both ſides to ſtrengthen their parties, and be upon their guard: and ſince the citizens were reduced to ſuch a degree of equality by the ſuppreſſion of the nobility, that the magiſtrates were held in greater reverence than ever they had been before, each family reſolved to avail themſelves rather of public and ordinary means, than of private violence.

The intrigues of theſe two families to ſupplant each other are very curious; but as the detail of them is long, we ſhall leave the Reader to amuſe himſelf with them at his leiſure, and come to a ſpeech made to the ſignori, by an eminent citizen, when affairs were become ſo critical and dangerous as to alarm all impartial men. "The com-

quella famiglia, con gli ſuoi conforti, e con i primi capi della loro ſetta, penſarono di poter privar del governo gli Albiza, come diſceſi anticamente d'Arezzo, e pero tegnenti del Ghibellino ogni volta, che ſi ritrovaſſe una legge, per la quale era prohibito a qualunque deſceſo di Ghibellino di poter eſercitare officio, o magiſtrato alcuno, la quel legge era diſuſata, nè piu s'adoperava, né ſi mettava in atto o s'oſſervava in modo alcuno. Nerli, p. 21.

"mon-

" mon diſeaſe," ſays he, " magnificent ſigniors, " of the other cities in Italy has invaded ours, " and is continually eating deeper and deeper into " its vitals. All our towns, for want of due re- " ſtraint, have ran into extremes, and from liberty " denegenerated into downright licentiouſneſs, mak- " ing ſuch laws and inſtituting ſuch governments, " as were rather calculated to foment and ſupport " factions, than maintain freedom. From this " ſource are derived all the defects and diſorders " we labour under: no friendſhip or union is to " be found among the citizens, except betwixt " ſuch as are accomplices in ſome wicked deſign, " either againſt their neighbours or their country; " all religion and fear of God are utterly ex- " tinguiſhed; promiſes and oaths are no further " binding than they ſerve to promote ſome pri- " vate advantage, and taken, not with any deſign " to obſerve them, but as neceſſary means to fa- " cilitate the perpetration of villanies, which are " even honoured and applauded as good conduct, " if they meet with ſucceſs. From hence it " comes to paſs, that the moſt wicked and aban- " doned wretches are admired as able, enterpriſing " men; while the innocent and conſcientious " are laughed at, and depiſed as fools. The " young men are indolent and effeminate; the " old, laſcivious and contemptible: without re- " gard to age or ſex, every place is full of the " moſt licentious brutality, for which the laws " themſelves, though good and wholeſome, are " yet ſo partially executed, that they do not afford " any remedy. This is the real cauſe of that " ſelfiſh ſpirit which now ſo generally prevails, " and of that ambition, not for true glory, but " for places which diſhonour the poſſeſſors; " hence proceed thoſe fatal animoſities, thoſe ſeeds

" of

" of envy, revenge, and faction, with their uſual " attendants, executions, baniſhments, depreſſion " of good men, and exaltation of the wicked.— " The ringleaders of parties vaniſh over their " pernicious deſigns with ſome ſacred title: for " being, in reality, enemies to all liberty, they " more effectually deſtroy it, by pretending to " defend the rights ſometimes of the nobility, " ſometimes of the commons; ſince the fruit " which they expect from a victory is not the " glory of having delivered their country, but the " ſatisfaction of having conquered the oppoſite " party, and ſecured the government of the ſtate " to themſelves; and when once they have ob- " tained that, there is no ſort of cruelty, injuſtice, " or rapine, that they are not guilty of. From " thenceforward laws are enacted, not for the com- " mon good, but for private ends; war and peace " are made, and alliances concluded, not for the " honour of the public, but to gratify the hu- " mours of particular men: our laws, our ſtatutes, " and civil ordinances, are made to indulge the " caprice, or ſerve the ambition of the conqueror, " not to promote the true intereſt of a free peo- " ple; ſo that one faction is no ſooner extin- " guiſhed, but another is lighted up. A city that " endeavours to ſupport itſelf by parties inſtead " of laws, can never be at peace; for when one " prevails, and is left without oppoſition, it neceſ- " ſarily divides again. When the Ghibellines were " depreſſed, every one thought the Guelphs would " then have lived in peace and ſecurity; and yet " it was not long before they divided into the fac- " tions of the Neri and Bianchi. When the Bianchi " were reduced, new commotions aroſe, ſometimes " in favour of the exiles, ſometimes betwixt the " nobility and people: and to give that away to

" others,

" others, which we could not or would not poſſeſs " quietly ourſelves, we firſt committed our liber- " ties into the hands of king Robert, then of his " brother, next of his ſon, and laſt of all to the " mercy of the duke of Athens, never ſettling or " repoſing under any government; as people that " could neither be ſatisfied with being free, nor " ſubmit to live in ſlavery, Nay, ſo much was " our ſtate inclined to diviſion, that rather than " acquieſce under the government of a king, it " meanly proſtituted itſelf to the tyranny of a " vile and pitiful Agobbian. The duke of Athens " was no ſooner expelled, but we took up arms " again, and fought againſt each other with more " rancour and inveteracy than ever, till the an- " cient nobility were entirely ſubdued, and lay at " the mercy of the people. It was then the general " opinion there would be no more factions or " troubles in Florence, ſince thoſe were humbled " whoſe inſupportable pride and ambition had " been the chief occaſion of them; but we now " ſee that pride and ambition, which was thought " to be utterly extinguiſhed by the fall of the no- " bility, now ſprings up again among *the people*, " who begin to be equally impatient for autho- " rity, and aſpire with the ſame vehemence to the " firſt offices in the commonwealth. It ſeems the " will of Heaven that certain families ſhould " ſpring up in all comwonwealths to be the peſt " and ruin of them: our city owes its miſeries " and diſtractions not merely to one or two, but " to ſeveral of thoſe families; firſt to the Boun- " delmonti and Uberti, next to the Donati and " Cherchi, and now to our ſhame be it ſpoken, " to the Ricci and Albizi. Why may not this " commonwealth, in ſpite of former examples to " the contrary, not only be united, but reformed " and

" and improved by new laws and conſtitutions? " *You muſt not impute the factions of our anceſtors* " *to the nature of the men, but to the iniquity of the* " *times*, which being now altered, afford this city " fair hopes of better fortune; and our diſorders " may be corrected by the inſtitution of whole- " ſome laws, by a prudent reſtraint of ambition, " and by prohibiting ſuch cuſtoms as tend to " nouriſh and propagate faction, and by ſubſti- " tuting others that may conduce to maintain li- " berty and good civil government."

This ſpeech, although upon the whole it is excellent, has ſeveral eſſential miſtakes. That certain families will ſpring up in every ſimple government, and in every injudicious mixture of ariſtocracy and democracy, to be the peſt and ruin of them, is moſt certain. It is the will of Heaven that the happineſs of nations ſhould depend upon the uſe of their reaſon, as well as that of individuals; they muſt therefore provide for themſelves conſtitutions, which will reſtrain the ambition of families: without the reſtraint, the ambition cannot be prevented; nature has planted it in every human heart. The factions of their anceſtors ought not to have been imputed to the iniquity of the times; for all times and places are ſo iniquitous. Thoſe factions grew out of the nature of men under ſuch forms of government; and the new form ought to have been ſo contrived, as to produce a remedy for the evil. This might have been done; for there is a way of making the laws more powerful than any particular perſons or families.—As this advice was conformable to the ſentiments of the ſignori, they appointed fifty-ſix citizens* to provide for the ſafety of the commonwealth: but

* Nerli, p. 22 Fece creare una balia de 56 cittadini.

as

as moſt people are fitter to preſerve good order, than to reſtore it when loſt, theſe citizens took more pains to extinguiſh the preſent factions, than to provide againſt new ones, which was the reaſon that they ſucceeded in neither; for they not only did not take away the occaſion of freſh ones but made one of thoſe that were then ſubſiſting ſo much more powerful than the other, that the commonwealth was in great danger. They deprived three of the family of Albizi, and as many of the Ricci, of all ſhare in the magiſtracy for three years, except in ſuch branches of it as were particularly appropriated to the Guelph party; of which number Pietro degli Albizi and Uguccione de Ricci were two. Theſe proviſions bore much harder upon the Ricci than the Albizi; for though they were equally ſtigmatized, yet the Ricci were the greater ſufferers. Pietro, indeed, was excluded from the palace of the ſignori, but he had free admittance into that of the Guelphs, where his authority was very great; and though he and his aſſociates were forward enough in their admonitions before, they became much forwarder after this mark of diſgrace, and new accidents occurred, which ſtill more inflamed their reſentment. Gregory the Eleventh was pope at that time, and reſiding at Avignon, as his late predeceſſors had done, he governed Italy by legates, who being haughty and rapacious, had grievouſly oppreſſed ſeveral of the cities. One of theſe legates being, then at Bologna, took advantage of a ſcarcity, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Tuſcany. This occaſioned the war with the pope*. The Florentines entered into a confederacy with Galeazzo, and all the other ſtates that were at va-

* Nerli, p. 23.

riance

riance with the church; after which they appointed eight citizens for the management of it, whom they inveſted with an abſolute power of proceeding, and diſburſing money without controul or account. This war gave freſh courage to the Ricci, who, in oppoſition to the Albizi, had upon all occaſions favoured Galeazzo, and appeared againſt the church; and eſpecially becauſe all the eight were enemies to the Guelphs; but though they made a vigorous war againſt the pope, they could not defend themſelves againſt the captains and their adherents. The envy and indignation with which the Guelphs looked upon the eight, made them grow ſo bold and inſolent, that they often affronted and abuſed them, as well as the reſt of the principal citizens. The captains were no leſs arrogant; they were even more dreaded than the ſignori, and men went with greater awe and reverence to their houſes than to the palace; ſo that all the ambaſſadors who came to Florence were inſtructed to addreſs themſelves to the captains.

After the death of the pope, the city had no war abroad, but was in great confuſion at home; for, on one hand, the Guelphs were become ſo audacious, that they were no longer ſupportable; and on the other, there was no viſible way to ſuppreſs them; it was neceſſary, therefore, to take up arms, and leave the event to fortune. On the ſide of the Guelphs were all the ancient nobility, and the greater part of the more powerful citizens: on the other were all the inferior ſort of people, headed by the eight, and joined by George Scali, Strozzi, the Ricci, the Alberti, and the Medici. The reſt of the multitude, as it almoſt always happened, joined with the diſcontented party. The power of their adverſaries ſeemed to be very great

great to the heads of the Guelphs, and their danger great, if at any time a ſignori that was not on their ſide ſhould attempt to depreſs them. They found the number of perſons who had been admoniſhed was ſo great, that they had diſobliged moſt of the citizens, and made them their enemies. They thought there was no other remedy, now they had deprived them of their honours, but to baniſh them out of the city, ſeize upon the palace of the ſignori, and put the government of the ſtate wholly into the hands of their own creatures, according to the example of the Guelphs, their predeceſſors, whoſe quiet and ſecurity was entirely owing to the total expulſion of their enemies: but as they differed in opinion about the time of putting their project in execution, the eight, aware of the trick intended, deferred the imborſation, and ſylveſtro, the ſon of Almanno de Medici, was appointed gonfalonier *. As he was born of one of the moſt conſiderable families of the commoners, he could not bear to ſee the people oppreſſed by a few grandees. With Alberti, Strozzi, and Scali, he ſecretly appeared a decree, by which the laws againſt the nobility were to be revived, the authority of the captains retrenched, and thoſe who had been admoniſhed admitted into the magiſtracy. Sylveſtro being preſident, and conſequently prince of the city for a time, cauſed both a college and council to be called the ſame morning; but his decree was thrown out as an innovation. He went away to the council, and pretended to reſign his office and leave the people to chooſe another perſon, who might either have more virtue or better fortune than himſelf: upon this, ſuch of the council as were in the ſecret, and others who wiſhed for a

* Nerli, p. 23.

change,

change, raiſed a tumult in 2378 *, to which the ſignori and the colleges immediately repaired; and ſeeing their gonfalonier retiring, they obliged him, partly by their authority, and partly by their entreaties, to return to the council, which was in great confuſion. Many of the principal citizens were threatened, and treated with the utmoſt inſolence: among the reſt Carlo Strozzi was collared by an artificer, and would have been knocked on the head, if ſome of the by-ſtanders had not reſcued him. But the perſon who made the greateſt diſturbance was Benedetto degli Alberti, who got into one of the windows of the palace, and called out to the people to arm; upon which the piazza was inſtantly full of armed men, and the colleges were obliged to do that by fear, which they would not come into when they were petitioned. But whoever intends to make any alteration in a commonwealth, and to effect it by raiſing the multitude, will find himſelf deceived, if he thinks he can ſtop where he will, and conduct it as he pleaſes. The deſign of Sylveſtro was to quiet and ſecure the city, but the thing took a very different turn; for the people were in ſuch a ferment, that the ſhops were ſhut up, the houſes barricadoed, and many removed their goods for ſecurity into churches and convents. All the companies of the arts aſſembled, and each of them appointed a ſyndic. The ſignori called the colleges together, and were a whole day in conſultation with the ſyndics, how to compoſe the diſorders to the ſatisfaction of all parties: but they could not agree. The council, then, to hold out ſome hopes of ſatisfaction to the arts and the reſt of the people, gave a *full power*, which the Florentines call a balia, to the ſignori, the colleges, the eight, the

* Muratori, Annal. tom. viii. p. 375. Gino Camponi del tumulto de' Ciompi, tom. xviii. Rer. Italic.

captains

captains of the parties, and the ſyndics of the arts, to reform the ſtate. But while they were employed in this, ſome of the inferior companies of the arts, at the inſtigation of certain perſons, who wanted to revenge the late injuries they had received from the Guelphs, detached themſelves from the reſt, and went to plundering and burning houſes: they broke open the jails, ſet the priſoners at liberty, and plundered the monaſteries and convents. The next morning the balia proceeded to re-qualify the ammoniti, *the admoniſhed*, though with an injunction not to exerciſe any function in the magiſtracy for three years: they repealed ſuch laws as had been made by the Guelphs to the prejudice of the other citizens, and proclaimed rebels many who had incurred the hatred of the public: after which the names of the new ſignori were publiſhed, and Louigi Guicciardini declared their gonfalonier*. If thoſe who were admoniſhed, the *ammoniti*, could have been content, the city was in a fair way of being quieted; but they thought it hard to wait three years longer, before they could enjoy any ſhare in the magiſtracy. The arts aſſembled again to obtain ſatisfaction for them, and demanded of the ſignori, that for the good and quiet of the city it ſhould be decreed, that no citizen for the future ſhould be admoniſhed as a Ghibelline, who had ever been one of the ſignori or the college, or the captains of the companies, or the conſuls or ſyndics of any of the arts; and further, that a new imborſation ſhould be made of the Guelph party, and the old one burnt. It ſeldom happens that men who covet the property of others, and long for revenge, are ſatisfied with a bare reſtitution of their own. Accordingly ſome,

* Nerli, p. 24.

who

who expected to advance their fortunes by exciting commotions *, endeavoured to perſuade the artificers, that they could never be ſafe, except many of their enemies were either baniſhed or cut off.

The city continued in the utmoſt confuſion between the two new parties of commons and plebeians. But waving a particular detail, the eſſence of ſeveral years miſeries may be collected from two ſpeeches. One is of Louigi Guicciardini, a ſtandard-bearer to the plebeians :—"The more we "grant," ſays he, "the more ſhameleſs and arrogant "are your demands, Others may flatter you, but "we ſhall always think it our duty to tell you "plainly, and without diſguiſe, what we think is for "your good. What is there, in the name of God, "that you can reaſonably aſk more of us? You "deſired to have the captains of the parties de"prived of their authority; they have been de"prived. You inſiſted that the old imborſation "ſhould be burnt, and a new one made; we con"ſented. You wanted to have thoſe reinſtated "in the magiſtracy, that had been admoniſhed; "it has been granted. At your interceſſion we "pardoned ſuch as had been guilty of burning "houſes, and robbing churches, and baniſhed "many of our principal citizens at your inſtiga"tion. To gratify you, the grandees are bridled "with new laws, and every thing done that might "give you content: where then can we expect "your demands will ſtop; or how long will you

* Fu facile a Salveſtro de Medici, e a gli altri, levato che fu tumulto, vincer la legge; ma non fu gia loro coſi facile, ne poterano a poſta loro fermare il tumulto moſſo nel populo, e nella plebe, che s'era anco Sollevata in modo, che da queſto rumore ne ſegui l'arſione, e il ſacco de molte caſi. Attefe la sfrenata moltitudine due, o tre giornia a ſaccheggiare, e, ardere quello potette. Nerli, p. 24.

"thus

"thus abuſe your liberty? Why will ye ſuffer "your own diſcords to bring the city into ſla- "very? What elſe can you expect from your "diviſions? what, from the goods ye have already "taken or may hereafter take from your fellow- "citizens, but ſervitude and poverty? The per- "ſons you plunder are thoſe whoſe fortunes and "abilities are the defence of the ſtate, and if they "fail how muſt it be ſuported? Whatever is "got that way can not laſt long; and then ye "have nothing to look for but remedileſs famine "and diſtreſs." Theſe expoſtulations made ſome impreſſion, and they promiſed to be good citizens and obedient; but a freſh tumult ſoon aroſe, more dangerous than the former. The greater part of the late robberies, and other miſchiefs, had been committed by the rabble and dregs of the people; and thoſe of them who had been the moſt audacious, apprehended, that when the moſt material differences were compoſed they ſhould be called to an account for their crimes, and deſerted as it always happens, by thoſe very perſons at whoſe inſtigation they had committed them. Beſides which, the inferior ſort of people had conceived an hatred againſt the richer citizens and principals of the arts, upon a pretence that they had not been rewarded for their paſt ſervices in proportion to what they deſerved.

To ſhow how diviſions grow, wherever human nature is without a check, it is worth while to be particular here. When the city was firſt divided into arts, in the time of Charles the Firſt, there was a proper head or governor appointed over each of them, to whoſe juriſdiction, in civil caſes, every perſon in the ſeveral arts was to be ſubject. Theſe arts or companies, as we have ſaid, were at firſt but twelve, but afterwards they were increaſed

to twenty-one, and arrived at ſuch power and authority that in a few years they wholly engroſſed the government of the city: and becauſe ſome were more and others leſs honourable among them, they came by degrees to be diſtinguiſhed, and ſeven of them were called the greater arts, and fourteen the leſs. From this diviſion proceeded the arrogance of the captains of the parties; for the citizens who had formerly been Guelphs, to which party thoſe offices were always appropriated, had made it a conſtant rule to favour the greater arts, and to diſcountenance the leſs, and all thoſe who ſided with them; which chiefly gave occaſion to all the tumults we have hitherto made mention of: and, as in the diviſion of the people into arts and corporations there were many trades in which the meaner ſort are uſually occupied that were not incorporated into any diſtinct or particular company of their own, but admitted into any of the others, according as the nature of their craft made them fit, it happened that when they were not duly ſatisfied for their labour, or any otherwiſe oppreſſed by their maſters, they had no other head to apply to for redreſs but the magiſtrate of that company, to which the perſon belonged that employed them, who, they commonly thought, did not do them juſtice. Now, of all the companies in the city, that of the clothiers had the moſt of this ſort of people depending upon it; and being more opulent and powerful than any of the reſt, it maintained by far the greater part of the multitude. The meaner ſort of the people, therefore, both of this company and the others, were highly enraged at ſuch treatment; and being alſo terrified at the apprehenſion of being puniſhed for their late outrages, they had frequent meetings in the night; where, conſider-

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ing what had happened, they repreſented to each other the danger they were in; and to animate and unite them all, one of the boldeſt and moſt experienced of them harangued his companions in this manner. "If it was now to be debated, "whether we ſhould take arms, to plunder and "burn the houſes of our fellow citizens, and rob "the churches, I ſhould be one of thoſe who "would think it worthy of great conſideration, and "perhaps be induced to prefer ſecure poverty to "hazardous gain. But ſince arms have been al-"ready taken up, and much miſchief done, the "firſt points to be conſidered are, in what manner "we muſt ſecure ourſelves, and ward off the pe-"nalties we have incurred. The whole city is "full of rage and complaints againſt us, the "citizens are daily in council, and the magiſtrates "frequently aſſembled. Aſſure yourſelves, they "are either preparing chains for us, or contriving "how to raiſe forces to deſtroy us. It behoves "us, therefore, to have two objects chiefly in "view at theſe conſultations: firſt, how to avoid "the puniſhment due to our late miſdeeds; and, "in the next place, what means are to be uſed "that we may enjoy a greater degree of liberty "and ſatisfaction for the future than we have "done hitherto. To come off with impunity for "our paſt offences, it is neceſſary to add ſtill more "to them, to redouble our outrages, to rifle and "burn a great number of houſes, and arfully "depend upon our numbers for protection; for "where many are guilty none are chaſtiſed. Small "crimes are puniſhed, and great ones uſually "rewarded; and where many ſuffer, few ſeek "revenge; a general calamity being always borne "with more patience than a particular one. To "redouble our crimes, is the ſureſt way to procure

"a pardon

"a pardon for what has been already done, and "to obtain the liberty we deſire; nor is there any "difficulty to diſcourage us. The enterpriſe is "eaſy, and the ſucceſs not to be doubted of. Our "enemies are opulent indeed, but divided; their "diſunion will give us the victory, and their "riches, when we have got them, will maintain "it. Let not the antiquity of their blood, nor "the meaneſs of our own, with which they ſo "inſolently upbraid us, either dazzle or overawe "you. All families having the ſame original, "are of equal antiquity; nor has Nature ſhewn "any partiality in the formation of mankind. "Let both ſides be ſtripped naked, and both will "be found alike. Cloath yourſelves in their robes, "and them in your rags, and then you will appear "the nobles, and they the plebeians; for it is po-"verty alone that makes the real difference betwixt "us. It fills me with juſt concern, indeed, to "hear that ſome of you repent, forſooth, of what "you have done, and, out of a qualm of conſci-"ence, reſolve to proceed no farther. Neither "conſcience nor the fear of infamy ought to ter-"rify you, for thoſe who ſucceed in their attempts "let them have uſed what means ſoever, are never "upbraided with them, or called by ignominious "names; and as for conſcience, you have no rea-"ſon to give yourſelves any trouble about it. "When famine, and racks, and dungeons, are "ſure to be our portion, what greater terrors can "there be in hell?" The ſpeech is long, and all in the ſame ſtrain. It ſo inflamed his audience, that they determined to riſe, and took an oath to ſtand by each other. The ſignori had ſecret information of the plot, but although they took the beſt meaſures in their power, the government had not ſufficient energy to prevent or ſuppreſs the tumult:

tumult: they burnt many houſes, and committed all ſorts of outrages. If any one of the plebeians had been injured or affronted by a particular citizen, he led the mob directly to his enemy's houſe; nay, it was ſufficient barely to mention the perſon's name, or to call out "*to ſuch a man's houſe,*" or "*to "ſuch a man's ſhop.*" They glutted themſelves with miſchief, and then, to crown all, they knighted ſixty-four citizens, among whom was their favourite Sylveſtro de Medici. Their levity was very curious, for they conferred the honour of knighthood upon ſome of thoſe very perſons whoſe houſes they had burnt down but a few hours before. Such is the caprice of the multitude, and ſo ſoon are their diſguſts changed into favour and affection! The behaviour of the ſignori and the council of the people, was ſuch as might be expected from men conſcious of having neither dignity nor authority derived from the laws. Before a law could be paſſed, it was neceſſary it ſhould have the aſſent of the common-council, as well as of the ſignori. It was contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom for two councils to be held on the ſame day; ſo that when the ſignori had agreed, it was neceſſary to wait till next day for the common-council to deliberate upon the demands of the mob. Theſe demands were extremely grievous and diſhonourable to the government: one of them in particular, that no perſon that was incorporated into the arts ſhould be compelled to pay any debt, under the ſum of fifty ducats, in two years, at which time the principal only ſhould be paid to the creditor, and the intereſt into the bank. Yet the ſignori had agreed to them, and the common-council were the next morning deliberating: the multitude, naturally voluble and impatient, got together again under the palace. The law paſſed:

but

but the deſtruction of the city was not the leſs expected. The ſignori and counſellors left the palace one by one, and the people entered it. Hæc natura multitudinis eſt; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbe dominatur. When the people entered the palace, Michael di Lando, a wool-comber, a bare-footed ragged fellow, carried the ſtandard of juſtice before them. "You ſee, my "friends," ſaid Michael, "the palace and city "are in your hands: how would you have them "diſpoſed of?" They unanimouſly cried out that he ſhould be their chief magiſtrate, and govern the city as he pleaſed. Michael, a ſhrewd fellow, more obliged to nature than fortune, accepted the government, with a deſign however to compoſe the city. To amuſe the people, he ſent them to ſearch for Ser Nuto, the hangman, and immediately iſſued a proclamation, that nobody ſhould dare to burn or plunder any man's houſe for the future; and, to enforce the obſervance of it, he ordered a gibbet to be erected in the great piazza. The mob ſoon brought Ser Nuto into the piazza, and hung him up by one leg upon the gibbet; and, as every one tore away a joint, or a piece of his fleſh, in two or three minutes there was nothing left of him but one of his feet.

Michael gallantly new-modelled the ſtate, appointed a new ſignori, and gave the rents of all the ſhops upon the Old Bridge to Sylveſtro de Medici; took a good ſhare to himſelf, and was very liberal to many other citizens, who had befriended the plebeians, not only out of gratitude for paſt favours, but to engage them to ſupport him in future againſt envy. But the plebeians thought Michael had been too partial to ſome of the principal commoners, flew to arms again, appointed eight heads over them, with other ſubordinate officers

ficers and magiſtrates; ſo that the city had now two tribunals, and was governed by two diſtinct adminiſtrations. They took away all honours and emoluments that had been granted to Sylveſtro de Medici, and to Michael di Lando. But Michael ſhewed himſelf in valour, generoſity and prudence, far ſuperior to any other citizen, and well deſerves to be reckoned among thoſe few that have been real benefactors of their country. If he had been of an ambitious or ſelf-intereſted diſpoſition, the republic muſt have relapſed into a more intolerable degree of ſervitude than it was under the tyranny of the duke of Athens: but his integrity would not ſuffer him to cheriſh any deſign that might be prejudicial to the good of the public, and his prudence taught him to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner as not only gained him the firſt place and confidence of his own party, but enabled him to triumph over that of his enemies. He ſupreſſed this new rebellion againſt his authority with great addreſs and ſpirit, and thoſe proceedings ſtruck a terror into the plebeians, and opened the eyes of the better ſort of people, who could not help wondering at their own ſtupidity, that after they had ſupreſſed the pride of the nobility, they could ſo patiently ſubmit to be inſulted by the very dregs and refuſe of the city. When Michael obtained this compleat victory over the plebeians, the new ſignori was already appointed, two of whom were ſo baſe and abject condition, that every one ſeemed deſirous to rid themſelves of ſuch infamous magiſtrates. When the new ſignori entered on the new magiſtracy, there was an uproar in the piazza, which was full of armed men who ſhouted with one voice, "No plebeians in the "ſignori!" The reſt of the ſinori, in order to appeaſe the tumult, degraded their two aſſociates, and

and choſe two others in their room: they likewiſe diſſolved the plebeian companies, and deprived all thoſe of their offices who had any connection with them, except Michael, and a few of the beſt of them. They alſo divided the ſubordinate magiſtracy into two ſeparate juriſdictions, one of which was to preſide over the greater arts, and the other over the leſs. For the ſignori, it was only provided in general, that five of that body ſhould be drawn out of the leſs companies, and four out of the greater, and the ſtandard-bearer alternately out of each. Sylveſtro de Medici, and a few others, who had promoted this new regulation, became in a manner the chief governors of the city. Theſe proceedings and this new model of government, revived the old diviſions betwixt the more conſiderable commoners, and the lower ſort of mechanics, which had firſt been occaſioned by the ambition of the Ricci and Albizi: and becauſe they afterwards produced terrible conſequences, Machiavel henceforth diſtinguiſhes theſe two factions by the names of the *Popular* and the *Plebeian.*

Though this conſtitution of government laſted but three years, it abounded with executions and baniſhments; for as thoſe who were chiefly concerned in the adminiſtration well knew there were great number of malecontents, both within the city and without it, they lived in perpetual fear and alarm the diſaffected within the walls, either actually did, or were ſuppoſed to cabal daily againſt the ſtate; and thoſe without were continually raiſing diſturbences abroad by the aſſiſtance of foreign princes or republics, ſometimes in one part, ſometimes in another. In ſuch a government, the laws are inſulted by every party in turn. Accuſations were laid before the Magiſtrates againſt

againſt a number of citizens, for correſponding with the exiles at Bologna, concerning a plot againſt the city: the priſoners were examined, and nothing criminal could be proved againſt them. The magiſtrates were going to acquit and diſcharge them; the people roſe in ſuch a ferment of clamour and calumnies, that the magiſtrate was forced to paſs ſentence of death upon them. Their executions occaſioned freſh murmurs and diſcontents in the city; ſo that both thoſe that had got the upper hand, and thoſe who were depreſſed, lived in cotinual fear and ſupicion of each other. Dreadful indeed were the conſequences which flowed from the apprehenſions of the former, as every little accident furniſhed them with a handle to trample on their fellow-citizens, ſome of whom they daily put to death, or ſent into exile. They likewiſe made ſeveral new laws to ſtregthen their hands and keep thoſe down of whom they entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion. Theſe ſuſpicions growing ſtronger and ſtronger every day, made them behave with more rigour to the other party; a manner of proceeding that only ſerved to multiply their diſcontents, and to increaſe inſtead of allaying their own fears, which were not a little heightened by the inſolence of Georgio Scali and Tomaſo Strozzi, whoſe authority was much ſuperior to that of the magiſtrates; and therefore they all ſtood in awe of thoſe two citizens, as they knew it was in their power, if they ſhould join the plebeians, to turn them entirely out of the adminiſtration.

This intemperate and tyrannical manner of governing began to grow intolerable, not only to all good citizens, but even to the ſeditious themſelves; and it was not poſſible that the arrogance of Scali in particular could be long ſupported. By delivering

a friend and tool of out of the hands of juſtice, by a mob, he ſoon furniſhed his enemies with a fair opportunity not only of wreaking their own private revenge upon him, but of delivering the commonwealth out of his hands and the hands of the plebeians, who had ſo unmercifully tyranniſed over it for three years. They engaged in this deſign Beneditto, a man of immenſe fortune, very humane, ſtrict in his morals and principles, a ſteady friend to the liberties of his country, and ſufficiently diſguſted at the tyrannical proceedings of the government; ſo that it was no difficult matter to engage him in any meaſures that might contribute to the downfal of Scali. As the inſolence and oppreſſion of the principal commoners had made him their enemy, and a friend to the plebeians, ſo when he ſaw the latter purſuing the very ſame meaſures, he quickly detached himſelf from them. Having brought Beneditto and the heads of the arts into their deſign, they ſeized upon Scali, and the next day he was beheaded *; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into his party, that not one of them offered to ſtir in his favour, though they crouded in great numbers to ſee his execution. When he came to ſuffer death, in the face of that very people who had ſo lately worſhipped him with a degree of idolatry, he could not help complaining of the hardneſs of his deſtiny, and of the wickedneſs of thoſe citizens who, by their oppreſſions, had forced him to careſs a rabble in which he found there was neither honour nor gratitude. He bewailed his folly in having truſted to the fidelity of plebeians, which he might well have known is ever liable to be ſhaken and ſeduced by any little ſuſpicion, miſrepreſentation, or blaſt

* Nerli, p. 27.

of

of envy. He told Benedetto," This is the laſt day " of my misfortunes, and the firſt of yours." After him, ſome of his chief confidents were put to death, and their bodies dragged through the ſtreets by the people,

His death threw the whole city into a ferment. As the city was full of different humours, every one had a ſeparate view, and was eager to accompliſh it before he laid down his arms. The ancient nobility, now called grandees, could not bear to live ony longer without ſome ſhare in the public honours, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to recover them; for which purpoſe they endeavoured to have the captains of the arts reſtored to their former authority. The heads of the popular faction, and the greater arts, were diſguſted that the government of the ſtate was ſhared in common with them by the inferior arts or plebeians; the inferior arts, inſtead of giving up any part of their authority, were very deſirous to increaſe it; and the plebeians were afraid of having their new companies diſſolved. From theſe different views and apprehenſions there was nothing to be ſeen in Florence but tumults for a whole year. Sometimes the grandees, ſometimes the greater, ſometimes the leſſer arts, and ſometimes the plebeians, were in an uproar; and it often happened that they all took arms at the ſame time in different parts of the city.

After many miſchiefs, dangers, and troubles, and many conſultations and conferences, a new form of government was eſtabliſhed *. All were recalled who had been baniſhed ſince Sylveſtro de Medici was ſtandard-bearer; all offices and appointments conferred in 1378 were aboliſhed: the

* Nerli, p. 28.

new

new companies diſſolved, and re-incorporated in their reſpective arts; the inferior arts ſhould not chooſe any ſtandard-bearer of juſtice; that inſtead of enjoying one half of the public honours, they were now limited to one third, and thoſe too of the lower rank: ſo that the popular nobility and the Guelphs re-aſſumed their ſuperiority; and the plebeians were utterly diſpoſſeſſed of it, after they had held it from 1378 to 1381. The new adminiſtration was no leſs grievous and oppreſſive, however, than that of the plebeians had been; ſeveral of the popular nobility, and many of the heads of the plebeians, were baniſhed, and among the reſt Michael*, whom the remembrance of his former great merit, in reſtraining the fury of the populace when ſo licentiouſly plundering the city, was not ſufficient to protect from the reſentment of the governing party. From ſuch impolitic proceedings in princes and governors of commonwealths it happens that men, naturally growing diſguſted with their ill-timed ſeverity and ingratitude, often incur their diſpleaſure before they are aware of it. As ſuch executions and baniſhments had ever been diſapproved of by Benedetto, he could not help blaming the authors of theſe; upon which the government began to grow jealous of him, as a favourer of the plebeian party, and one that had conſented to the death of Scali, not out of any real diſapprobation of his conduct, but that he might the more eaſily get the reins of government into his own hands. They kept a ſtrict watch over him, and reſolved to ruin him. Intrigues were ſoon laid, by which Benedetto was ſent into baniſhment †.

"You

* Nerli, p. 29.

† Pervenne in que tempe al ſupremo magiſtrato Bardo Mancini, nomo molto contrario alla ſetta plebea, e molto nemico

"You ſee, my dear friends," ſays he, when he took leave of them, "in what manner Fortune "has contrived my ruin, and how ſhe ſtill threat-"ens you: it is the lot of thoſe who endeavour, "to maintain their integrity in wicked and cor-"rupt times. From the ſame principle of love "to my country which once induced me to join "Sylveſtro de Medici, and afterwards to ſeparate "myſelf from Scali, I could not forbear cenſuring "the proceedings of thoſe who are now at the "helm, who, *having nobody to chaſtiſe them*, are "likewiſe deſirous to get rid of every one who "dares to reprehend them." He preſerved his character for piety and humanity abroad, and there died. His bones were brought back to Florence, and interred there with the higheſt honours by thoſe very people who had perſecuted him while alive with ſo much rancour and injuſtice.

The family of the Alberti were not the only ſufferers in theſe diſtractions, for many other citizens were either admoniſhed or ſent into exile. The members of this balia having done what they were deputed for, were going to break up, as they thought it would have an appearance of modeſty; but the people hearing of their reſolution, ran to arms in the palace, and inſiſted that they ſhould baniſh and admoniſh ſeveral others before they reſigned their authority.

tuico per queſte, e per altre cagioni di Meſſer Benedetto Alberti, e conoſciuto Bardo la geloſia, che cittadini del governo avevano di quella caſa degli Alberti, con participazione de' principali della ſetta de nobili, fece creare una balia per ſicurtà dello ſtato, nella quale intra le prime coſe ſi delibero, che Meſſer Benedetto fuſſe confinato, e il reſto degli Alberti tutti ammuniti; e furono coſtretti i ſignori per geloſia de capi cella ſetta, che molti altri cittadini tanto populani, che plebei, fuſſe confinato, o ammuniti, e per ridurre piu il governo a parte nobile, e per piu avvilire gli avverſari artifici e popolo minuto, &c. Nerli, p. 29, 30.

The

The ſignori, to diminiſh the authority of the plebeians ſtill more, made a decree, that the third part of the honours which they before enjoyed ſhould be reduced to a fourth; and that there might be two at leaſt in the ſignori, always of approved fidelity to the government, they gave the gonfalonier, and four other citizens, authority to make a freſh imborſation, and to put the names of a ſelect number of citizens into a particular purſe, out of which two of every new ſignori ſhould always be drawn.

Tranquility now continued till 1387, when Giovanni Galeazzo Viconti, commonly called the Conte di Virtu, thought to make himſelf king of Italy by arms, as he had made himſelf duke of Milan by treachery: but after making himſelf maſter of Bologna, Piſa, Perugia, and Siena, and preparing to be crowned king of Italy at Florence he died*. During the war with the duke, Maſo degli Albizi was gonfalonier, a bitter enemy to the Alberti. He reſolved, though Benedetto was now dead, to be revenged on the reſt of that family, for Pietro's unfortunate end, before he went out of office. He accuſed the two heads of the family of correſponding with the exiles, and took them into cuſtody: upon this the whole city was in an uproar. The ſignori called the people together, and appointed a new balia, by which many citizens, beſides almoſt all the Alberti, were baniſhed, and many artificers admoniſhed, or put to death, and a freſh imborſation of magiſtrates was made. This tyrannical manner of proceeding ſo enraged the arts and lower ſort of people, who now ſaw their lives and honours ſo wantonly taken away, that they roſe in arms, ſome of them running to the

* Nerli, p. 30.

piazza,

piazza, and others to the houſe of *Veri de Medici* who, after the death of Sylveſter, was become the head of that family, and earneſtly intreated him to take the government into his hands, and deliver them from the oppreſſion of thoſe citizens, who were daily endeavouring to deſtroy the commonwealth, and every good man in it. Antonio de Medici was moſt importunate with him, though they had been long at open enmity. All writers agree, that if Veri had been as ambitious as he war virtuous, he might have made himſelf lord of the city; but he put himſelf at the head of the people, marched to the piazza, and there publicly refuſed to do any thing unconſtitutional, but prayed the ſignori to redreſs the grievances of the people. They highly commended him, and promiſed to give all ſatisfaction. Upon theſe aſſurances, and a reliance on Veri's word, the people returned to their houſes. As ſoon as the tumult was compoſed, the ſignori, inſtead of fulfilling their promiſes, fortified the piazza, enrolled two thouſand citizens to defend them, forbid all others to bear arms, put many citizens to death, and baniſhed others, who had been moſt active in the late inſurrection. The few Alberti who were left, and the Medici, thought themſelves and the people deceived, and were extremely diſguſted by theſe proceedings; but the firſt who had courage to oppoſe them was Donato Acciaivola, one of the grandees, rather ſuperior to Maſo Albizi, who, by the ſteps he had taken while he was gonfalonier was become in a manner the head of the commonwealth. Donato endeavoured that thoſe who had been ſent into exile might be recalled, and thoſe who had been admoniſhed ſhould be re-qualified to hold their former honours and employments. He firſt attempted it by perſuaſion, but not ſucceeding,

ing, he threatened to do it by force. For this he was cited, convicted, and baniſhed to Barletta. Alamanno, and Antonio de Medici, and all thoſe who were of Alamanno's family, with many of the inferior arts, who had any intereſt among the plebeians, were likewiſe baniſhed. All theſe things happened within two years after Maſo degli Albizi had aſſumed the government.

In 1397 the exiles at Bologna, ſpirited young men, among whom was Antonio de Medici, determined at all events to return to their country, and aſſaſſinate Maſo, depending upon the people's riſing in their favour: but either from a terror of the government, or prejudice againſt the exiles, the people would not move; and the conſpirators fled to the church, where they were put to death *. This conſpiracy was ſcarcely quaſhed, when another more dangerous was diſcovered, of other exiles ſcattered over Lombardy, in concert with the duke of Milan; but this was diſcovered, defeated, and the authors puniſhed. Then a new balia was inſtituted, with authority to provide for the ſafety of the commonwealth. By this council, ſix of the Ricci, ſix of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, and many others of lower condition, were proclaimed rebels; all the reſt of the Alberti, Ricci, and Redici, except ſome very few, were rendered incapable of holding any office for ten years. One of the Alberti only was ſpared on account of his quiet character, Antonio; but the government was jealous of him, and ſoon found a pretence for baniſhing him to a diſtance of three hundred miles from the city: and to free the government from the continual apprehenſions they lived under

* Nerli, p. 32.

of

of the Alberti, they baniſhed all of that family that were above fifteen years of age. Theſe things happened in 1400*.

In 1412 ſome of the Alberti returned from baniſhment, and another balia was appointed, which made new laws for the ſecurity of the ſtate, and inflicted other penalties on that family.

In 1414 ended the war with Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, whoſe death delivered Florence from as much danger as that of the Conte di Virtu had done.

The period from 1371 to 1434, is that which is boaſted by Machiavel as the proſperous one, but whoſe proſperity he attributes to the virtues and abilities of Naſo. Piſa, Arezzo, Leghorn, and Monte Pulchiano, were added to the dominion.

"All republics, eſpecially ſuch as are not well "conſtituted, undergo frequent changes in their "laws and manner of government; and this is "not owing to the nature either of liberty or "ſubjection in general, as many think, but to "downright oppreſſion on one hand, or unbridled "licentiouſneſs on the other." It is very true, that moſt republics have undergone frequent changes in their laws; but this has been merely becauſe that very few republics have been well conſtituted. It is very true alſo, that there is nothing in the nature of liberty, or of obedience, which tends to produce ſuch changes; on the contrary, real liberty and true obedience rather tend to preſerve conſtancy in government. It is, indeed, oppreſſion and licence that occaſion changes; but where the conſtitution is good, the laws govern, and prevent oppreſſion as well as licence.

* Nerli, p. 33.

"The name of liberty is often nothing more than "a ſpecious pretence, made uſe of both by the "inſtruments of licentiouſneſs, who for the moſt "part are commoners, and by the promoters of "ſlavery, who generally are the nobles, each ſide "being equally impatient of reſtraint and con-"troul." This is a truth, which is proved, as well as illuſtrated, by every page of the foregoing hiſtory, as well as by the hiſtory of almoſt all other republics, ancient and modern: and the next paragraph ſhews that Machiavel had an accurate idea of the evil, though a confuſed one of the remedy. "When it fortunately happens, which "indeed is very ſeldom, that ſome wiſe, good, "and powerful citizen, has ſufficient authority in "the commonwealth to make ſuch laws as may "extinguiſh all jealouſies betwixt the nobility "and the people, or at leaſt ſo to moderate and "reſtrain them, that they ſhall not be able to pro-"duce any bad effect, in ſuch caſe that ſtate may "properly be called free, and its conſtitution look-"ed upon as firm and permanent; for being once "eſtabliſhed upon good laws and inſtitutions, it "has no further occaſion, like other ſtates, for the "virtue of any particular man to ſupport it." One would be apt to conjecture from this, that Machiavel was about to propoſe a firſt magiſtrate, armed by the conſtitution with ſufficient authority to mediate, at all times, between the nobles and commons. Such a magiſtrate, poſſeſſed of the whole executive power, with a negative to defend it, has always authority to intervene between the nobles and commons, and to preſerve the energy of the laws to reſtrain both: and whether this executive magiſtrate is wiſe and good or not, if the commons have the negative upon the purſe and the laws, and the inqueſt of grievances, abuſes, and

ſtate

ſtate crimes, that executive power can hardly be ill uſed. "On ſuch laws and principles many "of thoſe ancient commonwealths, which ſo long "ſubſiſted, were formerly conſtituted." Rome and Sparta were, in ſome degree, conſtituted upon theſe principles, and in proportion as they conformed to them, they were free and happy; but neither was perfectly conformed to them. "For "want of them, others have often varied their "form of government from tyranny to licence, and "from licence to tyranny:" and for want of them, ſuch will ever be the vibration. "For as each of "thoſe ſtates always has powerful enemies to con-"tend with, it neither is nor can be poſſible they "ſhould be of any long duration;" and while they laſt, the liberty and happineſs of the citizens are conſtantly ſacrificed. "All good and wiſe men muſt "of neceſſity be diſguſted at them." So much ſo, that if it were not for the chance and hope of obtaining a better conſtitution, after all the changes, any man of that character would prefer a ſimple monarchy at once. "Since much evil may very eaſily "be done in the former, and hardly any good in "the latter; the inſolent having too much autho-"rity in one, and the ignorant and unexperien-"ced in the other." Theſe characters of ſimple ariſtocracies and ſimple democracies, which ſucceed each other ſo rapidly, where the third power is not introduced to controul and moderate both the nobles and people, are very juſt; and Michiavel ſays, what is near the truth, "both muſt be "upheld by the ſpirit and fortune of one man "alone, who yet may either be ſuddenly taken "off by death, or overpowered by adverſity." It is a pity he had not ſaid, parties muſt be upheld together by the conſtitutional, legal authority of one man alone, poſſeſſed of the whole executive

cutive power of the ſtate, and then if he is taken off by death another will ſucceed; if he be overpowered by adverſity the whole ſtate muſt be overpowered with him, and no form of government can be deviſed to warrant ſtates againſt peſtilence, earthquake, and famine, the inevitable and irreſiſtible judgments of heaven. "I ſay, "therefore, that the model of government, which "took place in Florence after the death of Scali "in 1381, was at firſt ſolely maintained by the "conduct of Maſo degli Albizi, and afterwards "by that of Niccolo Uzzano." This is a ſtrong inſtance of the efficiency of one man, ſo ſituated as to be able to mediate between the ariſtocratical and democratical ingredients in ſociety, and for providing ſuch an officer by the conſtitution, whoſe duty and buſineſs it ſhall always be to act the ſame part; nay, who ſhall be neceſſitated, from the principle of ſelf-preſervation and ſelf-defence, to preſerve the balance between them.

The city continued in tranquillity from 1414 to 1422; eight years: Uzzano and ſix others had the chief authority. Thoſe animoſities, however, which were at firſt kindled in the city by the quarrel betwixt the Albizi and the Ricci, and afterwards blown up to ſuch height by Sylveſtro de Medici, were not yet extinguiſhed; and although that party which had the largeſt ſhare in the affections of the people continued only three years in the adminiſtration, and was turned out of it in 1381, yet as they were favoured and ſupported by the greater part of the citizens, they could not be totally ſuppreſſed. The frequent *admonitions* and continual perſecutions that were carried on againſt the heads of it, from 1381 to 1400, had indeed brought them very low. The Alberti and the *Medici* ſuffered moſt by theſe proceedings. Several of

of them had their eſtates confiſcated; others were baniſhed or put to death; and thoſe who were ſuffered to continue in the city were deprived of all their honours and employments; by which their party was much depreſſed, and almoſt reduced to nothing. They retained, however, ſharp reſentments, and determined to take revenge, though under the preſent circumſtances they thought proper to diſſemble.

This adminiſtration, compoſed of the moſt conſiderable commoners or popular nobility, which had kept the city ſo long in peace, at laſt were guilty of two errors in point of conduct, which proved their ruin. As ſoon as they thought themſelves ſafe from the attempts of the Alberti, they grew inſolent, and they quarrelled among themſelves: two faults, that have ever been committed by every ſingle aſſembly, whether of nobles or commons; and which ever muſt be committed by all that are to come. Amidſt their ſupineneſs, oppreſſions, and diviſions, the *Medici* recovered their former authority and power. The firſt of this family that began to lift up his head again was *Giovanni**, the ſon of *Bicci de Medici*, who being a man of great humanity, and grown very rich, was admitted to a ſhare in the government of the ſtate; at which there was ſuch extraordinary rejoicings among the people, that many of the graver ſort of the citizens were not a little alarmed when they ſaw the old humours began to ſhow themſelves again. Uzzano repreſented to his colleagues†, that he knew Giovanni was a perſon of much greater influence and abilities than ever Sylveſtro had been, and that it was dangerous to promote a man of ſo general a reputation to ſuch

* Nerli, p. 34.

† Nerli, p. 34, 35.

a degree

a degrée of power: but the reſt of the governors envied Uzzano's reputation, and were glad to avail themſelves of any aſſiſtance to ruin him; ſo that Giovanni was ſet up, as it often happens, to pull down Uzzano.—When a popular aſſembly or a ſenate have the management of the executive power, diſputes for ever ariſe concerning every ſtep in foreign affairs, and diſcords and factions have full play. Thus it happened in Florence upon occaſion of a negotiation with Philip Viconti, lord of Lombardy; every faction had a different opinion: that, however, in favor of a war prevailed; ten ſuperintendants of the war were appointed, ſoldiers were raiſed, and taxes impoſed; theſe occaſioned great murmurs in the city. The taxes were ſaid to be heavier on the poor than the rich; every one exclaimed againſt the oppreſſion of their governors, who had wantonly embroiled them in an expenſive and unneceſſary war, only to gratify their own private intereſts and ambition, and to eſtabliſh themſelves in their tyranny. The majority of the governors at laſt judged it neceſſary to declare war, notwithſtanding that reſolution ſtill met with great oppoſition, eſpecially from Giovanni de Medici, who publicly proteſted againſt it, which occaſioned a multitude of arguments pro and con. The war was unfortunate, and a battle loſt by the badneſs of the weather; this misfortune occaſioned great conſternation in Florence, eſpecially among the governing party, who had been the chief promoters of the war: they ſaw the enemy powerful and elated, themſelves diſarmed and without allies, and, what was worſe, hated to the laſt degree by the people, who inſulted them whenever they appeared in the ſtreets, complaining of inſupportable taxes, and upbraiding

ing them with the heavy expences of an unneceſſary war.

Machiavel, p. 238, enumerates the taunts which fury ſuggeſted upon this occaſion to an enraged and unbridled multitude. The ſignori called a meeting of the principal citizens, and earneſtly exhorted them to uſe their good offices to ſoothe the people, and appeaſe the general indignation which their clamours had excited. Rinaldo, the eldeſt ſon of the late Maſo degli Albici, having ſecretly entertained ſome hopes of becoming ſole governor of the republic, by the merit of his own ſervices and the reputation of his father, made a long ſpeech in juſtification of the war. A commiſſion was given to twenty citizens to raiſe further ſupplies for the maintenance of the war, who ſeeing the governing party now humbled, took courage, and laid the chief burden of the taxes upon their ſhoulders; at which they were not a little mortified in their turn. They complained of it as too heavy; but when this came to the ears of the council, they took effectual care to have it collected; and in order to make all impoſitions appear the more grievous and hateful to the people for the future, they gave a ſtrict charge to their officers to collect this with the utmoſt rigour, and to kill any one that ſhould dare to oppoſe them, or refuſe to pay it: and ſo many were murdered or wounded, that it was apprehended the two parties would come to blows; for thoſe who had been ſo long in power, and uſed to be treated with ſuch reverence and diſtinction, could not bear the thoughts of being inſulted in this manner; and the other ſide were reſolved, that every man, in his turn, ſhould equally feel the ſting of theſe oppreſſions. The principal citizens had now many private conferences, but Giovanni was not there; either becauſe

cauſe he was not invited, as a perſon in whom they could not thoroughly confide, or refuſed to come becauſe he did not approve of ſuch cabals. Rinaldo degli Albici made an harangue.—He repreſented how the government had again fallen into the hands of the people, from whom their fathers had recovered it in 1381. He reminded them of the tyranny of thoſe who were in the adminiſtration from 1377 till that time; in which interval either the father or grandfather, or ſome near relation of almoſt every one who was then preſent, had been unjuſtly put to death. That the city was now going to relapſe into the ſame ſtate of confuſion and oppreſſion, as the multitude had already taken upon them to impoſe taxes; and if they were not either curbed by force, or reſtrained by ſome other expedient, would certainly, in the next place, proceed to appoint ſuch officers as they thought fit; after which they would turn the preſent magiſtrates out of their ſeats, to the utter deſtruction of an adminiſtration which had governed the city with ſo much glory and reputation, for forty-two years: the conſequence of which would be, that Florence muſt either be blindly governed by the caprice of the multitude, and then one party would live in continual danger and apprehenſion, while the other rioted in all manner of licentiouſneſs, or it muſt fall under the ſubjection of ſome one perſon, who would make himſelf abſolute lord, and perhaps tyrant, over it. As the audaciouſneſs of the multitude was in a great meaſure owing to the largeneſs of the imborſations, and the little care that was taken in them, which had filled the palace with new and mean men, he thought the only remedy for ſuch diſorders would be to reſtore the authority of the nobility, and diminiſh that of the minor arts, by reducing

reducing them from fourteen to ſeven, which would leſſen the power of the plebeians in the councils, both by retrenching their number, and by throwing more weight into the ſcale of the grandees, who would be ſure to uſe all poſſible endeavours to depreſs them, out of revenge for old injuries. That wiſe men always availed themſelves of different ſorts of people at different ſeaſons; and if their fathers had made uſe of the aſſiſtance of the plebeians to humble the inſolence of the grandees, now the latter were brought ſo low, and the former become ſo audacious, it would be no bad expedient to join with one to lower the other.—Uzzano made anſwer that it might be done, if they could draw Giovanni de Medici into their deſigns; for if he concurred with them, the multitude being deprived of their head, would not be able to make any oppoſition.—Rinaldo was deputed to wait upon Giovanni, and perſuade him to join them. Giovanni replied to him, that he had always thought it the duty of a good citizen to endeavour to prevent any change in the eſtabliſhed laws. By ſuch changes ſome were turned out and others brought in, and the firſt generally thought themſelves more aggrieved than the others benefited; by which few friends and many enemies were made, mankind being naturally more prone to revenge than gratitude. That the citizens of Florence generally dealt baſely and perfidiouſly with each other: that as ſoon as the promoters and adviſers of this plan had ſufficiently depreſſed the people by the help of his authority, they would certainly fall upon him next with the whole force and aſſiſtance of the plebeians, whoſe affections he muſt have loſt by ſuch a conduct, and then he would be utterly deſerted and ruined. He could not help remembering the fate of Benedetto, who, at the inſtigation

inſtigation of ſuch as conſpired his deſtruction, conſented to the ſevere proceedings againſt Scali and ſoon after was ſent into exile himſelf by the very perſons who had inveigled him into thoſe meaſures. That for his part he ſhould never agree to have any alterations made in the laws or conſtitution of his country.—Theſe deliberations, when known, ſtill added to the reputation of Giovanni, and increaſed the hatred of the people againſt the other citizens. On the contrary, Alamanno de Medici, his relation, and Coſimo, his ſon, urged Giovanno to take this opportunity of humbling his enemies and exalting his friends, reproaching him with his coldneſs, which they ſaid emboldened thoſe who wiſhed him ill to form daily conſpiracies againſt him, and would, one time or other, prove the ruin of all his family and dependents: but he was deaf to all their remonſtrances and prognoſtications, and determined to purſue his own meaſures. The deſigns of the faction were, however, now plainly diſcovered, and the city began once more to divide itſelf into factions. Under ſuch forms of government there can never be an independent judicial power: all parties are either courting, or threatening, or perſecuting the judges. There were at this time two preſiding under the ſignori, in the ſupreme court of juſtice: Martino, who was one of them, was of Uzzano's party, and Paolo, the other, followed that of the Medici. Rinaldo finding Giovanni, inflexible, reſolved to turn Paolo out of his office, as he thought that the court would then be wholly at his devotion; but the other ſide being aware of this, were beforehand with him, and contrived matters ſo well, that they got Paolo continued and Martino diſcharged, to the great mortification and prejudice of his party.

The

The war laſted five years, i. e. from 1422 to 1427, and the citizens were impoveriſhed by taxes; and perſonal eſtate was now to be taxed as well as real. This was likely to fall heavy upon the rich, upon which account it was oppoſed vehemently by them all, before it paſſed into a law, except Giovanni, who publicly expreſſed his approbation of it; ſo that it was carried againſt them. This tax was regulated by a law made on purpoſe, and not left to the arbitrament of partial or intereſted perſons; ſo that the more powerful citizens were in ſome meaſure reſtrained from oppreſſing the inferior ſort, and influencing their votes in the councils, as they had been uſed to do, by the threats of taxing them according as they gave their ſuffrages. This tax, therefore, was very chearfully ſubmitted to by the generality, though highly diſguſtful to the government. But as it is the nature of mankind to be ever reſtleſs and diſcontented, and when they have gained one advantage, to be ſtill graſping at a higher, the people, not ſatisfied with this equality of taxation eſtabliſhed by the law, demanded a retroſpect, by which it might appear how much leſs the rich citizens had paid before, than they ought to have done by this regulation, and every one be made to account for deficiencies. This queſtion occaſioned very long and ingenious arguments on both ſides; but Giovanni repreſented to the people the bad conſequences of retroſpects, and with many arguments ſoothed the people, till they dropped this demand.

In 1428 peace was concluded, and freſh commotions began in the city, on the ſubject of the new plan of taxation. In this juncture Giovanni fell ſick; and calling his two ſons, Coſimo and Lorenzo, to his bed-ſide, he adviſed them, "If "you would live with ſafety and comfort, be "content

"content with ſuch a ſhare in the government as "your fellow-citizens confer upon you, by which "you will avoid envy and danger; for it is that "which a man arrogates to himſelf that makes "him odious, and not what is voluntarily given "him." He died lamented by the whole city, for he was very charitable and compaſſionate. His univerſal benevolence taught him to love good men, and pity the evil. He never ſolicited honours, though he obtained the higheſt. He died poſſeſſed of immenſe riches *, and full of glory and reputation, leaving his ſon Coſimo heir to his fortune and fame; both which he not only maintained, but augmented.

Ambition ſoon kindled new wars. The whole city was divided into little meetings and cabals of all ranks of people, the generality of whom were for commencing hoſtilities againſt the Luccheſe. Among the more conſiderable citizens who favoured this enterpriſe, were all the followers of the Medici family: thoſe who oppoſed it were Uzzano and his party. It ſeems almoſt incredible that there ſhould be ſuch a change of opinions in the ſame citizens, on this occaſion, concerning the expedience of a war; and yet thoſe very perſons who, after a peace that had laſted ten years, oppoſed a war againſt duke Philip, which was undertaken in defence of their own liberties, now ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon one againſt Lucca, to invade the rights of others, and at a time too when the city was exhauſted and impoveriſhed to the laſt degree by the heavy expences of the laſt. From hence we may obſerve, how much more ready mankind are to uſurp the property of others, than to defend their own; and how much ſtronger the hope

* Nerli, 38.

of

of gain is, than the fear of loſing. The ſignori aſſembled the common-council, where the matter was debated by ſome of the leading men of the republic, in the preſence of four hundred and ninety-eight citizens. The debate was conducted by Rinaldo on one ſide, and Uzzano on the other; and, upon a ballot, only ninety-eight were againſt the war.—The war was commenced, and carried on with all that rapacious avarice and ambition which had begun it, and grievous complaints and accuſations were brought againſt Aſtorre and Rinaldo for their behaviour in it.

In 1428* Niccolo de Uzzano died, and Rinaldo ſucceeded as head of his family and party. Rinaldo returned in a rage againſt the magiſtrates, and preſenting him before the council of war, he told them, "he well knew how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to ſerve an unbridled people, and a divided ſtate; ſince the one was carried away with every rumour, the other put a malicious interpretation upon actions that were doubtful and always puniſhed the evil, but never rewarded the good: ſo that if a commander ſucceeded in an expedition, he had no praiſe at all; if he was guilty of an error, his conduct was cenſured by the generality; but if he miſcarried, he was ſure to be condemned by every one; for in one caſe his own party would envy his ſucceſs, and his adverſaries not fail to inſult him in the other." The council endeavoured to appeaſe his reſentment, but gave the command abroad to others. The war was conducted afterwards rather unſucceſsfully, until they came to a battle before the town of Lucca, and were totally defeated. As the expedition had been undertaken almoſt by general conſent, the people, in the utmoſt conſternation, and not knowing where elſe

* Nerli, p. 39.

to

to turn their rage, began to abuſe thoſe who had conducted the war, ſince they could not blame thoſe who, by their own inſtigation, had firſt adviſed it, and revived their old calumnies againſt Rinaldo: but the perſon whom they fell upon with the greateſt violence was Guicchiardini, who, they ſaid, might eaſily have put an end to the war, if he had not been bribed; nay, they went ſo far as to charge him with ſending a horſe-load of money to his own houſe, and particularly mentioned the names both of thoſe that carried and thoſe that received it. Theſe clamours and accuſations made ſuch a noiſe, that the captain of the people could not help taking cognizance of ſo public a charge; eſpecially as he was importunately called upon ſo to do by Giovanni's enemies. Having cited him therefore to clear himſelf of this imputation, he made his appearance, but with much ſeeming indignation and contempt of their malice; and his relations exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly for the honour of their family, that the captain was obliged to ſtop all further proceedings againſt him. The inſinuation here is very obvious, that the judge was bribed.

In 1433 a general peace was concluded, and all towns that had been taken by the Florentines, Luccheſe, and Sieneſe, ſhould be mutually reſtored to their former poſſeſſors; ſo that the expence of this war was all loſt.

During the courſe of this war abroad, the factious humours began to foment again at home; and Coſimo began to act with greater ſpirit in public affairs, and with more openneſs and zeal for the good of his friends, than ever his father had done: ſo that thoſe who rejoiced at the death of Giovanni, were not a little damped at the proceedings of his ſon. Coſimo was a man of very great prudence, of a ſedate and agreeable countenance,

nance, exceedingly liberal and humane; never entering into any meaſures that would be pernicious to the ſtate, or even the party that he oppoſed, but taking all opportunities of doing good to every one; and of conciliating to himſelf the affections of his fellow-citizens by his goodneſs and generoſity. So noble an example of benevolence greatly increaſed the hatred which the public had already conceived againſt the governing party, and at the ſame time was the beſt method he thought he could take to enable himſelf either to live with reputation and ſecurity in Florence, or to get the better of any perſecution that the malice of his enemies might raiſe againſt him by the intereſt he had with the people, and even, if neceſſary, by force of arms. There were two citizens who contributed to promote this intereſt, Averardo de Medici, and Puccio de Pucci; the one by his boldneſs and activity, the other by his great wiſdom and experience which added much reputation to his party: indeed, the judgment and authority of the latter were ſo generally revered, that he gave name to the party, which was not called Coſimo's, but Puccio's party. In this divided ſtate of the city, the expedition againſt Lucca was undertaken, which, inſtead of extinguiſhing the rage of faction, ſtill added fuel to it; for though Puccio's party had promoted and adviſed a war, yet thoſe of the other ſide were chiefly employed in conducting it, as they had greater power in the government: and ſince Averardo and his friends could not by any means prevent this, they took every opportunity of defaming them, and calumniating their actions; ſo that when they met with any misfortune, it was not imputed to the ſuperior ſtrength or better management of the enemy, but to the miſconduct and imprudence of the commiſſary.

commiſſary. This was the occaſion that the enormities committed by Aſtorſa Gianni, though very great indeed of themſelves, were ſtill exaggerated. It was this ſort of treatment that provoked Rinaldo to ſuch a degree, that he left his command without permiſſion. This was the true cauſe of Giovanni Guicchicardini being cited to appear before the captain of the people. From hence proceeded all the charges and complaints that were exhibited againſt other magiſtrates and commiſſaries; and whilſt thoſe that had any foundation and were alvays aggravated, and ſometimes ſupported by downright falſehood, the people greedily ſwallowed all, whether true or falſe, out of the hatred they bore to them: and though Uzzano, and the other heads of that party, were ſufficiently aware of theſe baſe artificers, and had ſeveral private meetings to conſider of proper means to prevent the effect of them, yet they could not fix upon any expedient. It was very dangerous, they knew, to connive at them, and not leſs to proceed to open violence: Uzzano himſelf was averſe to any remedies of that kind. Barbadori, ſeeing they were haraſſed in this manner, with war abroad and faction at home, made a viſit to Uzzano, whom he found alone, and very thoughtful in his ſtudy; and as he himſelf wiſhed to ſee the ruin of Coſimo, he left no method untried to prevail upon Uzzano to join with Rinaldo to drive him out of the city. Uzzano replied, "Com-
"mon prudence would be ſufficient to induce thoſe
"who adviſe the expulſion of Coſimo to compare
"their own ſtrength with his. Our party, it
"ſeems, is now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the
"Nobility, and the other by that of the Plebei-
"ans. Remember the fate of the ancient nobi-
"lity of this city, who at laſt were utterly ſup-
"preſſed

" preſſed in their conteſt with the plebeians. " Our party is divided, while that of our adver- " ſaries is compact and entire. *Neri and Nerone,* " *two of the chief men in the city, have not yet de-* " *clared themſelves*; and it is uncertain what ſide " they will take. Several families are divided " among themſelves; and many there are that " hate us, and favour our adverſaries, merely out " of envy or malice to their own brothers, or " ſome other near relations. Among the ſons of " Maſo, Luca, out of hatred to Rinaldo, is gone " over to the other ſide; in the family of the " Guicciardini, Pietro, the ſon of Luigi, is a " mortal enemy to his brother Giovanni, and " joins our adverſaries; Tomaſo and Niccolo " Soderini openly oppoſe us out of pique to their " uncle Franciſco: ſo that if we conſider the qua- " lity of thoſe who conſtitute their party, and of " whom our own conſiſts, I ſee no reaſon why one " ſhould be called the nobility in preference to the " other. If it is becauſe they are followed by the " whole body of the plebeians, that very circum- " ſtance makes them ſo much ſuperior to us, that if " ever we come to an open trial of our ſtrength, we " ſhall not be able to ſtand before them; and if " we ſtill continue in poſſeſſion of the firſt places " in the commonwealth, it is entirely owing to " the eſtabliſhed credit of an adminiſtration which " has now ſupported itſelf for the ſpace of fifty " years. But if things ſhould come to extremi- " ties, and our preſent weakneſs be diſcovered, " you may depend upon it, we ſhould be forced " out of the magiſtracy, perhaps to our utter de- " ſtruction. Coſimo, it is, true freely lends mo- " ney to every one that wants it; not only to " private people, but to the public, upon any " emergency, and to foreigners as well as Flo-

" rentines : he is a friend to ſuch as ſtand in need " of protection, and ſometimes helps to advance " an acquaintance to a reputable employment in " the commonwealth, by the intereſt which his " univerſal benevolence has gained him among " the people. What ſhall we be able to plead in " excuſe for endeavouring to expel him the city ? " Shall we accuſe him of being charitable, friend- " ly, liberal and beloved by every one ? What " law condemns charity, liberality, and benefici- " cence ? Indeed, theſe virtues are ſometimes " counterfeited, to cajole the vulgar, by ſuch as " aſpire to dominion ; but they do not appear in " that light at preſent, nor is it in our power to " make them. We have loſt our reputation by " our late miſconduct ; and a people naturally " prone to faction, and corrupted by continual " diviſions, will no longer put any confidence in " us, or give credit to ſuch accuſations. If he is " baniſhed, he will return with more friends, and " we ſhall have more enemies : if it is intended to " put him to death in a *judicial manner*, that can " never be effected ; for, as he is rich, and the " magiſtracy corrupt, he will be ſure to eſcape " all puniſhment. But if he is baniſhed, or " condemned, what will the commonwealth " gain by that ? No ſooner will it be free from " the apprehenſions it was under from Coſimo, " but it will be liable to the ſame from Rinaldo. " For my own part, I am one of thoſe who never " deſire to ſee one citizen exceed another in au- " thority ; and if one of theſe two muſt ſeize the " reins, I know not any reaſon that ſhould induce " me to prefer Rinaldo to Caſimo. I pray God " to preſerve this city from ever falling under the " dominion of any one man : but if a time ſhould " ever come when our ſins ſhall bring that judgment

" upon

" upon us, I pray ſtill more carneſtly, that we may " not become ſubject to Rinaldo. *The far greater* " *part of the citizens, ſome out of ſtupidity, and* " *others out of malice, are thoroughly diſpoſed to* " *ſell their country; and fortune has been ſo favour-* " *able to them as to provide a purchaſer.* Live " quietly, then; and as to any invaſion of our " liberties, be aſſured, you have as much to ap- " prehend from our own party as the other."— This ſpeech contains a volume of inſtructions: the ſituation of ſuch a government, where there are two parties, and no third power to balance them, is admirably deſcribed. Neri, or Neroni, who were yet neuters, are looked up to as capable, when they pleaſe, of overturning the balance, and effecting a revolution. Family quarrels are reſorted to and inflamed, in order to make different branches take different ſides. Though one party is called patrician and the other plebeian ſo many individuals of each deſert their colours, and go over to the enemy, that it is impoſſible to ſay which party is really the patrician and which plebeian. Timid and irreſolute to the laſt degree, the government dares not diſoblige an individual, even by puniſhing a crime. The government really eſteeming its enemies, more than its own members; and oppoſition approving members of government more than their own aſſociates. All parties endeavouring to get an influence over the judges, as eſſential to their exiſtence. The judicial power unavoidably corrupted. It was eaſy for Uzzano to ſay, and perhaps ſincerely, that he never deſired to ſee one citizen exceed another in influence. But, according to Machiavel, the exiſtence of the government had long depended upon the ſuperior authority of Uzzano himſelf. And no better plan of liberty than this deplorable

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one of Florence can ever be preſerved, without ſome one citizen legally veſted with authority to controul each in his turn of the contending parties. Uzzano died in 1428*. and all reſtraint was at an end. Rinaldo now was head of the party, and was continually teazing and importuning ſuch citizens as he thought likely to be judges, that is, ſtandard-bearers of juſtice, to take arms, and deliver their country out of the hands of Coſimo; who, taking advantage of the ſtupidity of ſome, and the malice of others, would certainly enſlave it. Thus Rinaldo, by endeavouring to ſupplant his adverſaries, and they to ſupport themſelves, kept the whole city in continual alarm and ſuſpicion; ſo that when new magiſtrates were appointed, it was preſently known how many there were on one ſide, and how many on the other: and at the imborſations for the ſignori, there was nothing to be ſeen but tumult and uproar. Every trifling affair that was brought before the magiſtracy created a diviſion among them; all ſecrets were divulged; they had no regard to juſtice; the good and the evil were treated alike; and there was not ſo much as one magiſtrate that did his duty. Rinaldo, impatient to lower the authority of Coſimo, intrigued to get Bernardo drawn for ſtandard-bearer*, and ſucceeded; went to congratulate him, and told him how much the nobility were rejoiced to ſee him in poſſeſſion of that dignity; repreſented to him the danger they were in from their diviſions; and that the ſureſt way to reſtore union among them was to rid themſelves of Coſimo. Bernardo anſwered, he was fully convinced of the expediency and neceſſity of what he had urged, and deſired him to prepare their

* Nerli, p. 39.

friends

friends to take arms. Bernardo then ſummoned Coſimo to appear before the ſignori. The ſignori aſſembled the people, and appointed a balia, conſiſting of two hundred citizens, to reform the ſtate; and the firſt thing debated was, whether Coſimo ſhould be put to death or not? Some argued for it, others thought baniſhment ſufficient, and many ſat ſilent. Coſimo was committed priſoner to Frederigo, in the turret of the palace. From this place he could hear the clamours of the armed men, who were below in the piazza, and frequent outcries for a balia; which made him apprehend that his life was in danger, but much more, that his particular enemies would take ſome extravagant method to diſpatch him; for that reaſon, he would eat no meat for the ſpace of four days, except a mouthful or two of bread. Frederigo obſerving this, bid him take courage, and eat his meat, and keep himſelf alive for the good of his friends and his country; and that you may have no more ſuſpicion, ſays he, I will eat with you. Coſimo embraced him with tears in his eyes, acknowledging his generoſity, and aſſuring him he would amply recompence his kindneſs. if ever fortune ſhould put it in his power to ſhew his gratitude. Frederigo invited Farganaccio, a friend of the ſtandard-bearer, to ſup with them. Coſimo, after many fair words and promiſes, gave his gueſt a draught upon his banker for eleven hundred ducats, deſiring him to keep one hundred himſelf, and preſent the other thouſand to the ſtandard-bearer. This he willingly undertook to perform, and gave the money to Bernardo, who then began to grow cooler and more moderate in the proſecution; ſo that, after all, Coſimo was only baniſhed to Padua, though Rinaldo uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have him put

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put to death. Averardo de Medici, and many others of that family, were likewiſe baniſhed at the ſame time, and with them Puccio and Giovanni de Puci. Coſimo was brought before the ſignori, 3d of October, 1433, who pronounced the ſentence of baniſhment upon him. He received the ſentence with a chearful countenance, ſaying, "that in what part of the world ſoever he ſhould ſojourn, his perſon and fortune ſhould ever be at the ſervice of the republic, the people, and the ſignori." The ſtandard-bearer told him, he would take care that his life ſhould be in no danger; and, having conducted him to his own houſe, to ſup with him, ordered a party of the guards to eſcort him to the confines of the Florentine dominions. Wherever he came, he was received with great honour, and publicly viſited by the Venetians, who treated him not as an exile, but as a perſon of the firſt rank and conſequence in the ſtate. Florence being thus deprived of ſo great a man, and ſo univerſally beloved*, Rinaldo ſaw a ſtorm ariſing, and adviſed his friends to collect their ſtrength, and fortify themſelves; that ſo, when their enemies ſhould riſe upon them, which was daily to be expected they might be able to clear the city of them by dint of force, ſince, it ſeemed, they could not do it in a judiciary manner: that they muſt regain the affections of the grandees, by reſtoring them to their honours and authority. He was anſwered, that the inſolence and tyranny of the grandees always had been, and always would be inſupportable; and that it would be madneſs

* Partiſſi coſſimo di Firenze l'Ottobre 1433, avendo laſciato di ſe nell' univerſale de' men potenti cittadini grandiſſimo deſiderio, parendo loro eſſer rimeſi in prada di pochi potenti, ſenza ſperanza di capo alcuno al quale ſi poteſſero appoggiare. Nerli, p. 40.

to

to run headlong into a certain and ſlaviſh ſubjection to them, when the danger that was apprehended from the plebeians might only be imaginary. Rinaldo, ſeeing his advice rejected, could not help lamenting the misfortunes that he foreſaw were going to fall upon himſelf and his party; but modeſtly imputed them rather to the malevolence of their deſtiny, than to the blindneſs and perverſeneſs of men. But both Rinaldo and Machiavel would have been much better adviſed, if they had imputed all theſe evils to their true cauſe, an imperfect and unbalanced conſtitution of government, rather than to deſtiny or the perverſeneſs of men. In ſuch a form of government, deſtiny itſelf, without a miracle, cannot prevent the blindneſs and perverſeneſs of men. Thoſe who ſee the cleareſt are forced to ſhut their eyes, and thoſe who are moſt upright are compelled to be perverſe. Letters were ſoon intercepted from Agnolo to Coſimo, adviſing him to ſtir up a war from ſome quarter or another, and to make Neri his friend: as he thought then the people would be in want of money to carry it on. Agnolo was baniſhed, which in ſome meaſure reſtrained the ardour of thoſe who favoured Coſimo. It was now almoſt a year ſince Coſimo was baniſhed.

At the end of Auguſt, 1434, Niccoli di Cocco was drawn ſtandard-bearer for the two next months and with him eight new ſignors, all friends to Coſimo; at which Rinaldo and his party were alarmed. Rinaldo was for taking arms, and obliging the ſtandard-bearer to aſſemble the people in the piazza to appoint another balia, and depoſe the new ſignori; get others drawn, more fit for their purpoſe, by burning the old imborſation, and making a freſh one, in which the purſes might be filled only with the names of their friends. Strozzi,

a man

a man of a peaceable and humane diſpoſition, and rather given to ſtudy than faction, oppoſed it; and it was reſolved to let the new ſignori enter peaceably upon the magiſtracy. The new ſignori having been created by Coſimo's party, no ſooner took poſſeſſion of the palace, than the ſtanſtard-bearer began his office by an action which ſhould give him reputation, and ſtrike a damp into ſuch as might think of oppoſing him. He immediately committed his predeceſſor to priſon, upon pretence that he had embezzled the public money; after which he began to ſound his aſſociates about Coſimo's return, and, finding them well diſpoſed to it, he communicated their deſign to thoſe who were reputed heads of the Medici party who all encouraged him to attempt it. He then cited Rinaldo, and others the principals of the other party, to appear before him: but they, inſtead of obeying him, flew to arms. But their party was irreſolute, loſt their opportunity, and gave time to the ſignori to provide for their defence. They ſent to acquaint Rinaldo, and thoſe who were with him, "that they could not conceive what was the cauſe of ſuch a commotion; that if it was upon Coſimo's account, they could aſſure them they had no thought of recalling him." Theſe promiſes, however, made but little impreſſion on Rinaldo, who ſaid he would take care of himſelf, by turning them all out of their offices. *But it ſeldom happens that any deſign ſucceeds, where the authority of the conductors is equal, and their opinions different.* Rodolpho replied, "that for his part, he deſired nothing more than that Coſimo might not be ſuffered to return: ſo that all hope of ſucceſs being defeated by the delay of Rinaldo, the puſillanimity of Strozzi, and the deſertion of Peruzzi,

Peruzzi, the reſt of the party began to loſe their ſpirits, and grow cool. Pope Eugenius IV. was then at Florence, driven out of Rome by the people, and interpoſed his mediation till he perſuaded the party to lay down their arms. As ſoon as the ſignori ſaw their adverſaries diſarmed, they began to treat with them, through the mediation of the pope, and, at the ſame time, ſent privately into the mountains of Piſtoia for a body of foot-ſoldiers, which, being joined by all the horſe they had in the adjacent territories, were brought into Florence by night; and having taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſes and ſtrong places in the city, they called the people together in the piazza before the palace, and appointed a new balia; which, at their firſt meeting, recalled Coſimo, and all the other citizens who had been baniſhed with him. On the other hand, they not only ſent Rinaldo, Peruzzi, Barbadori, and Strozzi, into baniſhment, but ſuch numbers of others, that moſt parts of Italy, and ſome other countries, were crowded with them, to the great impoveriſhment of Florence, both in regard to its wealth, its inhabitants, its trade, and manufactures. But the pope, ſeeing that party entirely ruined and diſſipated, which had conſented to lay down their arms upon his aſſurances and interceſſion, was exceedingly enraged, as well as Rinaldo. The latter however affected to ſay, it would give him no great regret to be baniſhed a city where private men had more authority than the laws. Coſimo, having notice, immediately repaired to Florence; it has ſeldom happened that any commander, though returning in triumph from victory, was received with ſuch acclamations and univerſal joy as Coſimo was by his fellow-citizens, who ran in multitudes to meet him,

and ſaluted him with one voice, the benefactor of the people, and the father of his country* !

Machiavel begins his fifth book, as if he ſuppoſed his reader convinced that the commonwealth of Florence had expired, and an abſolute ſovereignty in Coſimo had commenced, by grave reflections upon the changes that are incident to all governments :—" They often degenerate into anarchy " and confuſion, and from thence emerge again " to good order and regularity. For, ſince it is " ordained by Providence that there ſhould be " a continual ebb and flow in the things of this " world, as ſoon as they arrive at their utmoſt " perfection, and can aſcend no higher, they muſt " of neceſſity decline: and, on the other hand, " when they have fallen, through any diſorder, " to the loweſt degree that is poſſible, and can " ſink no lower, they begin to riſe again. And " thus there is a conſtant ſucceſſion of proſperity " and adverſity in all human affairs. Virtue is " the mother of peace; peace produces idleneſs; " idleneſs, contention and miſrule; and from " thence proceed ruin and confuſion. This oc- " caſions reformation and better laws; good laws " make men virtuous; and public virtue is always " attended with glory and ſucceſs."

* Ritorno adunque Coſimo in Firenze, con tanta reputazione e con ſi granda allegrezza dall' eſilio, con quanta, mai ritornaſſe alla patria ſua alcun altro cittadino trionfante, de qual ſi voglia o poſſa immaginare feliciſſiman impreſa vittoriоſo; e benche egli ſi ſforzaſſe in tanta ſua felicita, e grandezza di mantenere ſempre quella civile modeſtea, la quale oſſervo in ogni ſua azione mentreche viſſe, ad ogni modo appariva in lui una tal maeſta di principe, che merito per pubblico decreto d'eſſer chiamato padre della patria, la quale da eſſo fu per trenta anni, pacificamente governata, Nerli, p, 43.

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At the return of Coſimo, thoſe citizens who had been his chief friends, and ſome others who had been injured and oppreſſed by the late adminiſtration, were determined at all events to take the government of the ſtate into their own hands. The ſignori therefore, that was drawn for the two enſuing months of November and December, not content with what their predeceſſors had already done in favour of their party, prolonged the term, and changed the reſidence of ſeveral who had been baniſhed, and ſent numbers of others into exile. And this was done not only out of party rage, but likewiſe on account of their riches, alliances, and private connections: ſo that this proſcription, except in the article of bloodſhed, might in ſome meaſure be compared to that under Sylla and Octavius. There were, however, ſome executions; for Antonio, the ſon of Bernardo, was beheaded; and four other citizens, having left the place to which they had been baniſhed, and gone to reſide at Venice, were ſecured by the Venetians as ſetting a greater value upon Coſimo's friendſhip than their own reputation, and ſent priſoners to Florence, where they were put to death in an ignominious manner. Theſe examples greatly increaſed the ſtrength of Coſimo's party, and ſtruck a terror into that of his enemies. When they had thus cleared the city of their enemies, and ſuch as they thought diſaffected to their government, they began to ſtrengthen their hands by careſſing and heaping favours upon others. For this purpoſe they recalled the family of the Alberti, and all the reſt of the exiles that had been formerly baniſhed: they reduced the grandees, except ſome very few, to the rank of commoners, and divided the poſſeſſions of thoſe whom they had baniſhed among themſelves. After this they fortified themſelves with

with new laws and ordinances, and made a freſh imborſation, taking the names of all ſuſpected perſons out of the purſes, and filling them up again with thoſe of their own friends. They likewiſe took care that ſuch magiſtrates as had the power of life and death entruſted to them ſhould always be choſen out of the moſt eminent of their party; for which purpoſe they ordained, that the ſyndics, who inſpected the imborſations in conjunction with the old ſignori, ſhould have the power of appointing a new one. They left the cognizance of capital offences to the eight wardens, and enacted, that no exile ſhould return, even after the term of his baniſhment was expired, till he had obtained the conſent of the ſignori and thirty-four of the colleges, though the whole number of them amounted to no more than thirty-ſeven. All perſons were prohibited to write or receive any letters from them; every word, or ſign, or geſture, that diſpleaſed the governors, was puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. And if there was any ſuſpected perſons left in Florence, who had not fallen under their laſh for ſuch offences, they took care to load them ſeverely with new taxes and impoſitions; ſo that, one part of their adverſaries being driven out of the city, and the other depreſſed and overawed by theſe means, they in a ſhort time ſecured the government to themſelves: and to ſupport their power with foreign aid, and deprive their enemies of all aſſiſtance if they ſhould offer to diſturb them, they entered into a defenſive league with the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan.

Coſimo is very tenderly treated by Machiavel; yet he has impartiality enough to record the tragical ſtory of Neri and Baldaccio. Among thoſe who had the chief authority in the government, Neri,

Neri was one, of whoſe reputation Coſimo was more jealous than of that of any other perſon; as he had not only very great credit in the city, but was exceedingly beloved by the ſoldiery, whoſe affections he had gained by his bravery, humanity, and good conduct, when he commanded the troops of the republic, as he had done upon ſeveral occaſions; beſides which, the remembrance of the victories that had been gained by him and his father; one of whom had taken Piſa, and the other defeated Piccinino at the battle of Anghiari, made him reſpected by many and feared by others, who did not deſire any more aſſociates in the government. But of all their generals, Baldaccio was certainly the moſt eminent; nor was there any man in Italy, at that time, who ſurpaſſed him either in courage, or military ſkill, or bodily accompliſhments: and, having always commanded the infantry, they had ſuch an opinion of him that it was generally believed he could influence them to execute any purpoſe, and that they would follow him in any undertaking whatſoever.

This Baldaccio was very intimate with Neri, for whom he had the higheſt eſteem, on account of his valour and other good qualities, of which he had long been witneſs; but it was a connection that excited infinite jealouſy among the reſt of the principal citizens; who thinking it dangerous to let him enjoy his liberty, and ſtill more ſo to impriſon him, reſolved to have him diſpatched; in which fortune ſeemed to ſecond their deſign.

It is very provoking to read theſe continual imputations to fortune, made by Machiavel, of events which he knew very well were the effects of ſecret intrigue; for there is no doubt it had been previouſly concerted to get Bartolomeo or Candini

Candina appointed ſtandard-bearer of juſtice; who having been ſent to defend the paſs of Marradi, when Picconino invaded Tuſcany, had ſhamefully deſerted it, and abandoned all that country to the fury of the enemy, which from the nature of its ſituation was of itſelf almoſt inacceſſible. So flagrant a piece of cowardice provoked Baldaccio to ſuch a degree, that he could not help expreſſing his contempt of him, both in public converſation and in letters which he wrote to his friends, in terms that not only excited Orlandini's reſentment, but made him thirſt for revenge, and flatter himſelf that he ſhould extinguiſh the infamy of the fact by the death of his accuſer. To this reſolution ſome other citizens (the Medici) were privy; who encouraged him in it, and ſaid, that by ſo doing he would ſufficiently revenge the injuries which he had ſuffered himſelf, and at the ſame time deliver the government from the fear of a man whom it was dangerous to employ, and might be their ruin to diſmiſs. Orlandini therefore, being confirmed in his purpoſe to aſſaſſinate him, ſhut up ſeveral armed men in his apartment; and the next day, when Baldaccio came to attend at the palace, as he did moſt days, to confer with the magiſtracy concerning the pay of his ſoldiers, he was ordered to wait on the ſtandard-bearer immediately, which he did, without ſuſpecting any danger. As ſoon as they met, and had taken a turn or two in the gallery, which is before the chambers of the ſignori, they began to talk about their affairs, and at laſt coming near the door of the apartment where the armed men were concealed, the ſtandard-bearer gave them a ſignal, upon which they inſtantly ruſhed out, and, as Baldaccio had neither arms nor attendants, they ſoon diſpatched him, and threw him out of the palace window,

window, form whence he was carried into the piazza; and after they had cut of his head, his body was expoſed all day as a ſpectacle to the people. This tragical event gave a conſiderable check to Neri's intereſt, and diminiſhed the number of his partiſans. The governors, however, did not ſtop here; for, as they had been now ten years in the adminiſtration, and the authority of the balia was expired, many began both to talk and act with much greater freedom than they thought was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the ſtate. In order therefore to eſtabliſh themſelves in their power, they judged it neceſſary to revive that court; by which they would have an opportunity of ſtrengthening the hands of their friends, and more effectually depreſſing their enemies. With this view the councils inſtituted a new balia in the year 1444, which confirmed the preſent magiſtrates in their reſpective departments veſted the privilege of chooſing the ſignori in a few hands, and new-modelled the chancery of reformation, depoſing the preſident, Philip Peruzzi, and ſetting another perſon at the head of it, who they were well aſſured would conform himſelf to their inſtructions. They likewiſe prolonged the baniſhment of ſuch as they had before ſent into exile, impriſoned Giovanni, the the ſon of Simone Veſpucci, and deprived all thoſe of their honours and employments that adhered to their enemies; amongſt whom were the ſons of Pietro Baronulli, the whole family of the Seragli, Bartolomeo Fortini, Franciſco Caſtellani, and many others. By ſuch means they at the ſame time regained their former authority and reputation, quaſhed all oppoſition, and got entire poſſeſſion of the government. But Givolamo, not obſerving the bounds that were preſcribed to him in his baniſhment, was

afterwards

afterwads declared a rebel; and travelling about Italy to excite other ſtates to make war upon his own country, he was betrayed and apprehended at Lunigiana, by one of the governors of that place, who ſent him to Florence, where he was put to death in priſon.

This adminiſtration laſted about eight years, and was indeed a very tyrannical and inſupportable one; for, Coſimo being now grown ſo old and infirm that he could not attend to public affairs with his uſual aſſiduity, the government fell into the hands of a few inſolent and rapacious men, who *knighted Luca Pitti*, for the good ſervices he had done the ſtate; had alſo rich preſents made him, not only from Coſimo and the ſignori but from all the principal citizens, ſo that he became very rich, and built him ſeveral magnificent palaces, and finiſhed them by very arbitrary means, extorting more and greater preſents from the chief citizens whom he obliged to furniſh him with all neceſſary materials, and making the commonalty ſupply him with workmen and artificers. The diviſions which aroſe in Coſimo's party in 1455, were happily compoſed, for ſome time, by his moderation and prudence; but in the beginning of the year 1464 he fell ſick, and ſoon after died *; an event much lamented both by his frinds and enemies: for thoſe who did not love him for reaſons of ſtate, ſeeing their governors ſo greedy and ravenous while he was alive, and that they were only reſtrained, by the reverence they bore to his perſon, from proceeding to open violence, began to fear, now he was dead, that they ſhould be utterly ruined and devoured. They had but little hopes in his ſon Pietro, who, though a very worthy

* In 1464, in the 75th year of his age. Nerli, p. 49.

man,

man, had ſo weakly a conſtitution, and was yet ſo raw and unexperienced in matters of government, that they thought he would be obliged to comply with the meaſures of the others; and there being no longer any perſon of ſufficient authority left to check their career, they would become every day more and more oppreſſive. The loſs of Coſimo was therefore univerſally regretted, and with great reaſon; for conſidering he was no ſoldier, he was the moſt renowned and illuſtrious citizen that Florence or any other republic had produced in the memory of man. As he ſurpaſſed all others of his time in riches and authority, ſo he far exceeded every one in prudence, liberality, and magnificence; which great and amiable qualities made him the head of his country. Though he ſhewed a truly royal ſpirit in his great works and actions, and was in fact the ſovereign of Florence, yet ſo remarkable were his prudence and moderation, that he never tranſgreſſed thoſe bounds of decency which ought to be obſerved by a modeſt republican. In his little parties of pleaſure, in his converſation, in his alliances, and in every reſpect, he both acted and ſpoke like any other citizen; well knowing that pomp and pageantry, and oſtentatious parade, are not only of little real ſervice, but excite that envy among men which is not incident to ſuch actions as are done with an appearance of modeſty and humility. No man of his time had a more perfect knowledge of mankind in general: in all the various revolutions of ſo fickle and fluctuating a commonwealth; he maintained his authority for the ſpace of thirty-one years; for as he was naturally ſagacious, he foreſaw dangers afar off, and therefore took timely care to prevent them. This great man was born in 1389: the former part of his life was full of troubles and

diſaſters; but afterwards fortune was ſo propitious to him, that not only all thoſe who adhered to him in the public adminiſtration of the commonwealth were aggrandized and enriched by it, but ſuch as negociated his private affairs abroad (as he had factors in almoſt every part of Europe) acquired great wealth; ſo that many families in Florence raiſed immenſe fortunes under his influence, and ſeveral others owed every thing they had entirely to his advice and aſſiſtance. He was continually laying out vaſt ſums in churches, public buildings, and charities of different kinds. He was likewiſe a great patron and benefactor, to learned men, and firſt brought Archirophilus to Florence, a Grecian by birth, and the greateſt ſcholar of his age, to inſtruct the youth of Florence in the Greek tongue, and made him preceptor to his ſon and nephew. This writer dedicated his works to the family of Medici, viz. his Tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Ethics and Phyſics, his own Book de Regno, &c. Coſimo was at the expence of maintaining Macilio Ficino, the reſtorer of the platonic philoſophy, who tranſlated the works of Plato, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Proclus, &c. and had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he gave him a houſe and eſtate near his own ſeat at Careggio, that he might purſue his ſtudies there with more convenience, and entertain him with his converſation at leiſure hours; ſo that he had great merit in the reſurrection of letters, and perhaps in the formation of Machiavel himſelf, to whom the world is ſo much indebted for the revival of reaſon in matters of government, and who appears to have been himſelf ſo much indebted the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle. Indeed, if ever the riſe of any family to abſolute ſovereignty upon the ruins of a republic could be pardonable, this

this of the Medici, which was by real virtues, abilities, and beneficence, muſt be acknowledged to be an inſtance of it: but it never can be juſtified, nor ought ever to be excuſed, where there is a poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a conſtitution well balanced and really free; and it may well be doubted whether any nation that has once been free can ever become ſo univerſally or even generally corrupted, as not to be able to conduct a government of three well balanced branches. He died full of glory, and with the higheſt reputation. After his death all the ſtates and princes of Chriſtendom ſent compliments of condolence to his ſon Pietro; and he has this inſcription engraved on his tomb by a public decree, "The Father of his Country." Machiavel is conſcious that he ſhall be ſuſpected of writing a panegyric upon Coſimo, rather than an hiſtorical portrait; and not without reaſon, for he was a dependant on the Medici family; and he has evidently hurried over ſome, and gloſſed over others of Coſimo's arts. He appears to have had more merit, as well as more art, than Auguſtus.—It is ſcarcely worth while to purſue this hiſtory, and relate the conſpiracies which were formed againſt Pietro and the Medici, or the ſuppreſſion of them. The name of Medici had become a charm in the ears of the Florentines, like that of Hercules among the Greeks, Cæſar among the Romans, Orange among the Dutch, and others without end: and if abſolute power muſt be eſtabliſhed, it was as well in the Medici as the Pazzi. But Leo the Tenth is not ſo excuſable for not adopting a wiſer plan.

About the time of the death of Coſimo, Lewis the Eleventh of France was embroiled in a troubleſome war, which his barons had raiſed againſt him, at the inſtigation of Francis duke of Bretagne,

tagne, and Charles duke of Burgundy, which they called the war for the public good* ; which lay ſo heavy upon him, that he could give no further aſſiſtance to John duke of Anjou, in his deſigns upon Genoa and Naples. By theſe means Ferdinand of Arragon became king of Naples, and count Sforza duke of Milan, and lord of Genoa ; and having contracted family alliances together, they began to take all proper meaſures to eſtabliſh themſelves and their poſterity in their governments. For this purpoſe it was judged neceſſary that the king ſhould, in the firſt place, make ſure of ſuch of the nobility as had taken part with John of Anjou againſt him in the late wars. The king made uſe of every artifice to reconcile his nobility to him, in which he at laſt ſucceeded ; for they ſaw that if they continued in arms againſt their ſovereign, they muſt inevitably be ruined, but if they came to an accommodation with him or ſubmitted to his mercy, they might obtain a pardon. Theſe noblemen accordingly made their ſubmiſſion to him, but were afterwards all put to death at different times, upon one pretence or other.

In 1465, Paul, the ſecond Venetian, was elected pope ; and the next year Sforza duke of Milan died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Galeazzo, an event that not only added fuel to the animoſities that were rekindling in Florence, but occaſioned them to burſt out into a flame ; for after the death of Coſimo, his ſon Peter, being left heir to his riches and authority, thought proper to attach himſelf to Neroni, a man of very great power and reputation in the city, and of whom Coſimo had ſo great an opinion, that upon his death-bed he

* Philip de Comines

gave

gave Peter a ſtrict charge to conſult him, and to be guided entirely by his advice in every thing that related either to the management of his own eſtate or the adminiſtration of the public. In conſequence of this command, Peter ſent for him, and having told him how great a confidence his father had repoſed in him, he hoped he would aſſiſt him both in conducting his private concerns, and in the government of the city. Neroni promiſed to ſerve him faith-fully; but when they came to examine Coſimo's books, they found his affairs in very great confuſion: Neroni, therefore, who was more influenced by motives of ſelf-intereſt and ambition than either by the friendſhip he had profeſſed for Peter, or the remembrance of the obligations he lay under to his father, thinking he had now a fair opportunity of ruining that reputation and authority which Coſimo left him heir to, give him a piece of advice, which, to all appearance indeed, ſeemed both equitable and neceſſary, but ultimately tended to his deſtruction. He repreſented to him in how great diſorder his affairs were, and what large ſums of money he would have immediate occaſion for, if he intended to ſupport his family intereſt, and the reputation they had acquired of opulence and power in the commonwealth; and that there could be no relief or expedient ſo propper as to call in the debts that were owing to him, both from foreigners and his fellow-citizens: for Coſimo, out of his natural generoſity, and in order to eſtabliſh an influence at home, and gain friends abroad, had always been ſo ready to open his purſe to every one who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance, that thoſe debts aroſe to a prodigious amount. To this propoſal, which ſeemed but juſt and reaſonable, Peter conſented, and, like an honeſt man, reſolved to make uſe of his own ſubſtance only in that emergency:

but

but he had hardly called upon two or three of his debtors, before the whole city was in an uproar, every one upbraiding him with avarice and ingratitude, and loading him with all manner of reproaches and ignominious names, as if he had come to plunder them of their own property, inſtead of demanding payment of a lawful debt. Neroni, ſeeing the genaral reſentment which his own council had excited againſt Peter, turned his back upon him, and entered into a combination with Lucca Pitti, Sodorini, and Acciaivoli, to deprive him of all power and authority in the ſtate. The end they all had in view was the ſame; but their motives to purſue it very different. Pitti was ambitious to ſucceed Coſimo in the government of the republic; and became ſo great after his death, that he diſdained the thoughts of ſtooping to Peter. Neroni, who knew that Pitti was not equal to ſo great a charge, thought, that if they could by any means get rid of Peter, the chief power muſt of neceſſity in a ſhort time devolve upon him: Sodorini was deſirous that the city ſhould enjoy more liberty, and be governed by the proper magiſtrates, as it uſed to be in former times: Acciaivoli had a particular quarrel with the Medici: thinking Coſimo had not uſed him well in on award between his ſon and his wife, and not being able to revenge himſelf upon Coſimo, was now determined to do it upon Peter. However, they all availed themſelves of the ſame pretext, and ſaid, that they neither deſired nor aimed at any thing further, than that the republic might be governed by lawful magiſtrates, and not by a little junto of particular perſons. The failure of ſeveral merchants about that time ſtill increaſed the clamour that was raiſed againſt Peter, and gave the people freſh occaſion to revile him; for they

they made no ſcruple of imputing the blame to him, and ſaid, that the ſudden and unexpected calling in of his money had been the occaſion of thoſe bankruptcies, to the great loſs and diſcredit of the merchants in particular, and the prejudice of the whole city. Beſides all which, as he was going to marry Lorenzo, his eldeſt ſon to Clariſſa degli Urſini, every body took occaſion from thence to calumniate him; publicly declaring, that ſince he could not think any match in Florence good enough for his ſon, it was plain he did not regard them any longer in the light of fellow-citizens, but was taking his meaſures to make himſelf their ſovereign. From ſuch a temper in the people, theſe ringleaders of ſedition promiſed themſelves certain ſucceſs, eſpecially as the greater part of the citizens were ſo bewitched with the name of liberty, which they had made uſe of to varniſh over their private deſigns, that they chearfully liſted under their banners. But while theſe ill humours were fermenting, there were ſome who, out of a real love for their country, and abhorrence of civil diſcords, reſolved to try if they could not palliate them, for a while at leaſt, by turning the attention of the people upon ſome more entertaining object; conſidering, that an idle populace is generally made uſe of as a tool to ſerve the purpoſes of ſuch as attempt any innovation or change of government. To employ them, therefore, in ſuch a manner as might beſt divert their thoughts, and prevent them from entering into cabals and conſpiracies againſt the government, and at the ſame time to conſole them in ſome meaſure, after their mourning for the loſs of Coſimo, who had now been dead a year, theſe citizens thought it would be no bad expedient to revive the public ſpectacles with which the people

uſed

uſed to be entertained. Tournaments alſo were inſtituted, in which Lorenzo carried away the prize from all others. But as ſoon as theſe entertainments were over, the citizens returned to their former machinations with more ardour than ever; from whence aroſe great troubles and diviſions, which were much inflamed by the expiration of the Balia, and the death of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan. Galeazzo, the new duke, ſent ambaſſadors to Florence, to confirm the treaty of alliance that had been concluded between his father and the republic; one article of which was, that the Florentines ſhould pay that prince a certain yearly ſubſidy. The principal of Peter's enemies took the opportunity which this demand furniſhed, of publicly oppoſing him in council, and refuſed to comply with it. We may paſs over the long, though entertaining account, of the commotions, intrigues and civil war between one party, whoſe object was the ruin of Peter and the Medici family, both in their private affairs and in their public influence; and the other, who exerted themſelves for their preſervation. The laſt prevailed, and the other was baniſhed and confiſcated. Some of theſe fled to Venice, and harangued the ſenate of that republic into a war againſt Florence and the Medici; but this war was unſucceſsful, peace was ſoon made, and the Florentine exiles, deprived of all hopes of ever returning to their country, diſperſed into different places. Tranquillity abroad ſucceeded; but now the Florentines were grievouſly haraſſed and oppreſſed at home by the tyranny and ambition of their fellow-citizens; for Peter was ſo diſabled by his infirmities, that he had it not in his power to curb the inſolence of his own partizans, or provide any remedy: he ſent, however, for the principal of them, and

ſharply

ſharply reprimanded them. It is generally believed that, if he had lived, he would have recalled the exiles, to bridle the tyranny and rapacity of his own friends: but death, in the fifty-third year of his age, put an end to theſe good deſigns. He left two ſons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, both very promiſing.

Sodorini was at this time the moſt conſiderable among the leading men of the ſtate; and for his prudence and authority, in great reputation, not only in Florence, but with all the princes of Italy; ſo that after the death of Peter he had the higheſt reverence and reſpect ſhewn him by all the citizens, who daily reſorted in great numbers to his houſe; and ſeveral ſtates and princes addreſſed their letters to him, as head of the commonwealth. But as he was a wiſe man, and had thoroughly balanced his own fortune, and the circumſtances of his family, with thoſe of the Medici, he modeſtly declined returning any anſwer to thoſe letters; and gave his fellow-citizens to underſtand, that it was not to him, but the Medici, that they ought to pay their court. He aſſembled the heads of all the chief families in the city, and preſented to them Lorenzo and Giuliano, and ſaid, that if they were deſirous to live in peace and union at home, and ſecure from foreign invaſions, it was neceſſary to continue their obſervance to the houſe of Medici, and ſupport thoſe young gentlemen in the authority which their anceſtors had enjoyed: that it was but natural to ſhew the ſame regard to the family, which they had ſo long been uſed to do and therefore it muſt rather be a pleaſure than a grievance to them; for if mankind were apt to be fond of novelties, they were, for the moſt part, as ſoon diſguſted with them: that it had been found much more eaſy to maintain one in power,

whoſe enemies were in a manner extinguiſhed by time, than to raiſe another which muſt unavoidably be ſubject to new emulations, and ſpeedy ruin, from many cauſes and unforeſeen accidents. Lorenzo too, though very young, made a ſpeech with much gravity and modeſty; the citizens, before the aſſembly broke up, ſolemnly engaged to be gaurdians of their youth, and they, on the other hand, as ſolemnly promiſed to reverence them at all times as their protectors and parents. After which, Lorenzo and Giuliano were looked upon as the heads of the republic, and putting themſelves under the guidance and direction of Sodorini, the ſtate ſeemed to be perfectly compoſed, neither diſtracted by inteſtine diſcords, nor embroiled in foreign wars. But Bernardo degli Nardi ſoon found means to excite the ruined families, who had been exiled at the fall of Lucca Pitti, to kindle another war, which was extinguiſhed only by the deſtruction of the town of Prato. After this inſurrection, which was ſuddenly raiſed, and ſoon ſuppreſſed, the citizens of Florence began to ſink into luxury and effeminacy. The youth growing more diſſolute than ever they had been before, and having nothing elſe to do, threw away their time and eſtates in dreſs, in feaſting, in gaming, in women, and other ſuch diſſipations. Their whole ſtudy and emulation was to ſurpaſs each other in fine cloaths.

A new war broke out on occaſion of a mine of alum diſcovered at Volterra. Sodorini thought a "lean peace better than a fat war;" but Lorenzo, thinking this a favourable opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and being ſupported in his opinion by thoſe who envied the authority of Sodorini, his opinion prevailed, and Volterra was reduced.

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In 1476 happened the aſſaſſination of Galeazo, duke of Milan and the diſtruction of the aſſaſſins, who, as uſual in ſuch caſes, were left unſupported, both by the nobility and the multitude who had at firſt encouraged them. Such examples ought to be warnings to princes, to reign in ſuch a manner as to make themſelves honoured and beloved by their ſubjects; and to others, againſt truſting to nobles or the multitude, except in a very good cauſe; for though theſe may be diſcontented to the laſt degree, they will ſeldom ſtir a foot to their aſſiſtance in diſtreſs or danger.

After the Medici had gained ſuch an aſcendent, by the defeat of their enemies, in 1466, they grew ſo powerful, that they in a manner engroſſed the government of the republic, wholly to themſelves; and their power was ſo great, that ſuch as were diſaffected to their adminiſtration were either obliged to ſubmit to it with patience, or endeavour to ſhake off the yoke, by clandeſtine machinations and conſpiracies; which being attended with great difficulties and dangers, for the moſt part end in the ruin of the conſpirators, and only ſerve to aggrandize and ſtrengthen thoſe ſtill more againſt whom they are formed. Italy was divided into two confederacies; the pope and the king of Naples were on one ſide; the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines, on the other. When Philip de Medici, archbiſhop of Piſa, died, the Pope appointed an enemy of the family of Medici (Salviati) to ſucceed him. The ſignori refuſed to give him poſſeſſion of the ſee. The Medici were diſcountenanced upon all occaſions at the court of Rome, while the greateſt reſpect and partiality were ſhewn there to the Pazzi, a family indeed which at that time was

one

one of the richeſt and moſt powerful in Florence: Coſimo, conſidering their opulence and quality, had married his grand-daughter, Bianca, to Guglielmo de Pazzi, in hopes of uniting the two families more ſtrictly, and preventing all jealouſies and emulation betwixt them by ſuch an alliance. But ſo vain and fallacious are all human deſigns, the event proved quite contrary, for ſome of Lorenzo's friends having inſinuated to him that it would be dangerous to him, and a diminution of his own authority, to throw any more power into the hands of that family, he would not ſuffer Giacopo, nor any of his brothers or nephews, to enjoy ſuch honours and offices as they ſeemed to deſerve in common with their fellow citizens. The Pazzi, therefore, were ſo exaſperated at this uſage, that the Medici began to be afraid of them, and the apprehenſions of the one ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the reſentment of the other; for in all competitions for places of honour or profit, the Pazzi, how much ſoever they might be favoured by the ſuffrages of the people, were always ſure to be ſet aſide and rejected by the magiſtracy. The Pazzi, therefore, thinking it intolerable that people of their rank and fortune ſhould be treated in that injurious manner, began to meditate revenge. He accordingly concerted a conſpiracy with many other perſons, and attempted to aſſaſſinate both the Medici at church. Giuliano was murdered with ſuch circumſtances of perfidy as would diſgrace the moſt infamous cauſe, much more a cauſe dignified with the name of liberty. Lorenzo defended himſelf with great bravery, and eſcaped with a ſlight wound. The inſurgents rode about the town, and cryed, Liberty! Liberty! and called upon the

the people to join them. But ſuch was the influence of the Medici, and ſo much were they beloved, on account of their liberality and other princely qualities, that the reſt of their fellow-citizens did not deſire to ſee any change of government. The whole city was raiſed, and Lorenzo ſafely conducted by a great number of armed men to his own houſe: the palace was recovered by the people, and all thoſe who had ſeized upon it either taken or killed; the ſtreets reſounded with ſhouts of Long live the Medici! while the limbs of the conſpirators who had been killed were either carried upon halberts, or dragged round the city; every one endeavouring to ſhew his reſentment, both in words in actions, againſt the Pazzi: for they not only plundered their houſes, but hurried Franciſco out of his bed to the palace, and there hung him up, cloſe by the archbiſhop and his aſſociates. So great was the favour and intereſt which the family of the Medici had gained among the people, by their prudence and liberality, that there was not a citizen of any degree whatſoever who did not go to Lorenzo, and make him an offer both of his perſon and fortune. Rinato, and Giacono de Pazzi, were both apprehended, condemned, and executed, with ſo many others, that the ſtreets and highways were full of their limbs. None of them were much lamented, except Rinato, who had always been eſteemed a prudent man, and void of that family pride which was laid to the charge all the reſt. After the conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed, and the authors of it puniſhed, the funeral of Giuliano was ſolemnized with great pomp, and attended by all the citizens. He left one ſon, born ſome months after his death, and named Giulio, who was afterwards pope Clement

ment the Seventh. The pope and the king of Naples, when they were diſappointed of bringing about a change of government in Florence, by under-hand machinations, now reſolved to attempt it by open war; but the good fortune of the family, Lorenzo's addreſs, and the ſteady attachment of the Florentines to him, carried them ſafely through this danger too. After the quarrels among the more conſiderable ſtates were compoſed, there happened many other diſturbances for the courſe of ſeveral years, in Romagna, La Marca d'Ancona, and Siena: they were more frequent in Siena than any where elſe, after the departure of the duke of Calabria, in 1488; but after many changes and revolutions there, in which ſometimes the commonalty and ſometimes the nobility prevailed, the nobility at laſt effectually ſuppreſſing the other party, Pandolpho and Giacopo Petrucci, one of whom was in the higheſt repute for his wiſdom, and the other for his valour, became in a manner princes of that city. As for the Florentines, they lived very happily, and in perfect tranquillity, from the end of the war till the death of Lorenzo, in 1492. For Lorenzo, having eſtabliſhed a general peace throughout Italy by his great wiſdom and prudence, had began to turn his thoughts entirely to the aggrandizement of the republic, and the care of his own family. In the firſt place he married his eldeſt ſon Peter to Alphonſina, daughter to Cavaliere Urſini, and procured a cardinal's hat for Giovanni his ſecond ſon, who was not quite thirteen years of age when he was promoted to that dignity, of which there had been no example before; but he aſcended by degrees through all the preferments of the church, till he was exalted to the pontificate, under the name of Leo the Tenth. His third

third ſon Giulano was but an infant. He alſo diſpoſed of his daughters very much to their advantage. In his mercantile affairs he was rather unfortunate; for ſuch was the extravagance of his factors, who lived more like princes than private men, that they had diſſipated the greater part of his merchandize; ſo that he was often obliged to borrow large ſums of the public. His chief deſire was to promote union among the people, and ſupport the nobility in that degree of honour and reſpect that was due to them. He ſhewed great favour to thoſe who excelled in any art, and was a very liberal patron to learned men. He was paſſionately fond of poetry, muſic, and architecture. He founded the univerſity of Piſa. Immediately after his death ſuch ſparks of diſcord began to re-kindle, as ſhortly broke out into a flame, and preyed upon the vitals of Italy.

Peter, the great-grandſon of the firſt Coſimo, having entered into a league with France, Louis XII. without the conſent of the ſignori, was rejected by the Florentines, and retired to Venice; ſo that the Florentines recovered and enjoyed their ancient liberties till 1512, when Ferdinand king of Spain reſtored the family of Medici, which was expelled again in 1529. In 1530 Charles V. ſeized upon Florence, and made Alexander de Medici, great-grandſon of Lorenzo, and who married his natural daughter Margaret, ſovereign and duke of Florence. Alexander was murdered about ſeven years after, and having left no children, was ſucceeded by his brother John, whoſe ſon Coſmo was created grand-duke of Tuſcany, by pope Pius V. in 1569. Voltaire ſays that the period while Florence was under the gavernment of the Medici ought to be called the Medicean age, as the polite arts and ſciences were then carried

carried to the higheſt degree of perfection: then it was that thoſe great geniuſes, Arioſto, Machiavel, Guicchiardini, Cardinal Bembo, Triſſiano, Caſa, Bernini, Raphel, Michael Angelo, Titian, Paul Veroneſe, and ſo many others, adorned the age, and rendered their names immortal.

Machiavel's introduction to his ſeventh book, according to his cuſtom, is full of grave reflections. "Thoſe are muah miſtaken, who think "any republican gevernment can continue long "united."—So are they who think that auy deſpotical or monarchical government can continue long united; and it is eaſy, and more ſo, to form and preſerve the union of a republican as of a monarchical government. A conſtitution formed upon the nature of man, and providing againſt his diſcontented temper, inſtead of truſting to what is not in him (his moderation and contentment in power) may preſerve union, harmony, and tranquility, better than any deſpotiſm. Republics that truſt the content of one aſſembly or two aſſemblies are as credulous, ignorant, and ſervile, as nations that truſt the moderation of a ſingle man. And it is as true of one as the other, ubi ſolitudinem faciunt pacem appellant. "Dif-"ferences and diviſions for the moſt part are "prejudicial to republics; and yet it is cer-"tain there are ſome that are of ſervice to "them." The ſame is true of diſpotiſms and monarchies. Diviſions are hurtful for the moſt part, yet ſome are beneficial. "Thoſe indeed "are hurtful that are attended with parties and "factions; but when that is not the caſe, they "tend to the benefit of the commonwealth. As "it is impoſſible, therefore, for any legiſlator or "founder of a republic entirely to prevent feuds and

" and animoſities in it, it ought to be his chief " care to provide againſt their growing up into " factions." This is eaſily done, by diſtinct and independent legiſlative, executive, and judicial powers, and by two councils in the legiſlature. Factions may be infinitely better managed in ſuch a republic, than in a deſpotiſm or monarchy.—" It " muſt be conſidered then, that there are two " roads to popularity in ſuch ſtates, the one " through public ſtations, the other through pri- " vate life. In the former it is acquired by gain- " ing ſome ſignal victory, by the prudent and " careful diſcharge of an embaſſy, or by giving " wiſe and ſucceſsful advice in council: in the " latter, by beneficence to one's fellow citizens, " by ſcreening them from the magiſtrates, by " ſupplying them with money, by promoting " them to honours and employments even when " they do not deſerve them, by entertaining the " people with plays and ſpectacles, and by diſtri- " buting largeſſes among them. This manner of " proceeding procures followers and partiſans: " and as popularity thus obtained is dangerous " to the ſtate, becauſe it is commonly applied to " ſerve private and ſelf-intereſted views; ſo the " reputation that is acquired the other way is of " credit and advantage to it, when not made a " tool to party and faction, becauſe it conduces " to the good of the whole. And though emu- " lation and envy will always ſpring up even " among citizens of the latter ſort, yet, as they " have no partiſans that follow them for their " own private ends, they cannot hurt the com- " monwealth; on the contrary, they muſt of ne- " ceſſity be of ſervice to it, for this very emula- " tion will naturally excite their utmoſt endeavours " to excel each other in their merits towards their

" country, and make them *keep ſo ſtrict a watch* " *over one another's actions, that none of them will* " *have it in their power to tranſgreſs the bounds* " *of good citizens.* But the diviſions in Florence " conſtantly ended in factions, and therefore were " always pernicious to the republic; nor did any " one of thoſe factions continue united any longer " than it had ſubdued the adverſe party; for " when once that was done, and conſequently all " fear and reſtraint were at an end, it immediately " ſubdivided, and ſplit itſelf into others."—In truth, it is impoſſible that diviſions, in any form of ſimple government, ſhould ever end in the public good, or in any thing but faction. The government itſelf is a faction and an abſolute power in a party, which being without fear and reſtraint, is as giddy in one of theſe forms as in any other. " De l'abſolu pouvoir, vous ignorez l'yvreſs." It muſt therefore divide, if it is not reſtrained by another faction; when that is the caſe, as ſoon as the other faction prevails they divide, and ſo on: but when the three natural orders in ſociety, the high, the middle, and the low, are all repreſented in the government, and conſtitutionally placed to watch each other, and reſtrain each other mutually by the laws, it is then only that an emulation takes place for the public good, and diviſions turn to the advantage of the nation.

Coſimo's party got the upper hand in Florence in the year 1434; but as there were ſtill many very powerful men left on the ſide that was depreſſed, they yet ſtood in ſome awe of them, and therefore thought proper, not only to continue united, but to behave themſelves with moderation; nor were they guilty of any miſconduct or oppreſſive act, of conſequence enough to draw upon

upon them the hatred of the people; ſo that whenever they had occaſion for the ſuffrages of their fellow-citizens to renew their authority, they always found them ready to re-eſtabliſh the chiefs of their party in any office they deſired: accordingly, from 1434 to 1455, a period of twenty-one years, they were ſix times appointed by the general council to fill the balia. There were in theſe times two very powerful citizens in Florence, Coſimo and Neri; the latter of whom had acquired his reputation in the public way, ſo that he had many friends, but few followers and partiſans. Coſimo, on the other hand, having gained his authority both by his public and private behaviour, had not only many friends, but partiſans and dependents alſo; and theſe two continuing ſtrictly united, never found any difficulty in obtaining whatſoever they aſked from the people, as their power was founded upon the favour of the public. But Neri dying in the year 1455, and the adverſe faction being utterly ſuppreſſed, this adminiſtration met with much oppoſition before they recovered their former authority; and chiefly from Coſimo's friends, who being now grown very powerful in the ſtate themſelves, and freed from all further apprehenſions of their enemies, were likewiſe deſirous to lower his popularity. This jealouſy gave beginning to the troubles that broke out in the year 1446; for thoſe who were then the leading men adviſed their fellow-citizens, when they were aſſembled in the general council, to take the ſtate of the commonwealth into conſideration, not to create any more balias, but to reſume the imborſations, and to chooſe their magiſtrates by lot out of the purſes that had been formerly filled. To cure them of this phrenzy, Coſimo had no other remedy, but either to ſeize

ſeize forcibly upon the government, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch partiſans as ſtill adhered to him, and to cruſh all oppoſition at once; or to let things take their courſe, and wait till time ſhould convince his friends that they were labouring only to deſtroy their own power and reputation, and not his. He choſe the latter expedient; for he knew he ſhould run no riſque in that, as the purſes were filled with the names of ſuch as were well affected to him, and that he might conſequently take the adminiſtration into his hands again whenever he pleaſed. He ſuffered them therefore to proceed to an imborſation; but when the new magiſtracy was drawn, and every one thought they had now fully recovered their former liberties, the magiſtrates began to act in their reſpective departments, not according to the dictates and directions of thoſe leaders, but as they thought fit themſelves: ſo that ſometimes the friend of one great man, ſometimes the creature of another, met with an unexpected rebuff; and thoſe who before uſed to ſee their houſes filled with preſents and ſolicitors, now had neither ſubſtance ſufficient to live upon, nor even common ſervants to attend them. They likewiſe had the mortification to ſee themſelves reduced to a level with ſuch as they had uſed to look down upon with the higheſt contempt and diſdain; and thoſe who before were their equals, now ſuddenly advanced far above them. They had neither honour nor reſpect ſhewn them by any one: on the contrary, they were inſulted and abuſed wherever they went; and every body made ſo free with their private characters, and public conduct, that they ſoon began to be aware that it was not Coſimo, but themſelves that had loſt their authority. Coſimo, in the mean time, took little or no notice of theſe things;

things; but when any thing was deliberated upon that he thought would be agreeable to the people, he was the firſt that promoted the execution of it. But what ſtruck the greateſt terror into theſe grandees, and gave Coſimo a fair opportunity of making them repent of their paſt behaviour, was the renewal of the cataſto, that took place in 1427, by which the taxes were regulated and proportioned by law, and not levied according to the caprice or pleaſure of particular men. This law therefore being revived, and officers appointed to ſee it executed, the grandees having had a conſultation together, went to wait upon Coſimo, and intreated him to uſe his endeavours to deliver both them and himſelf out of the hands of the plebeians, and to new-model the government in ſuch a manner, that they might retrieve the reputation which formerly had made him ſo powerful, and them ſo much reſpected; to which Coſimo made anſwer, "that he would do what lay in his power for that purpoſe with all his heart, provided it could be brought about legally and quietly, and with the good-will and approbation of the people; but that he never would conſent to violent meaſures, or uſing force of any kind." They then endeavoured to get a law paſſed in the councils for a new balia; but finding it would not go down, they returned to Coſimo, and beſought him in the humbleſt manner, that he would make uſe of his intereſt to get it paſſed: but with this Coſimo peremptorily refuſed to comply, being determined to make them fully ſenſible of their error. Upon which Donato Cocchi, who was the gonfalonier of juſtice, reſolved to ſet up a balia without his concurrence: but Coſimo raiſed ſuch a ſpirit among the reſt of the magiſtrates, that they

they not only oppoſed him with the utmoſt vehemence, but laughed at him, and treated him with ſo much ſcorn and deriſion, that it drove him ſtark mad, and he was carried back to his own houſe raging and frantic. Luca Pitti*, a bold and reſolute man, being now made gonfalonier of juſtice, Coſimo reſolved to leave the management to him; ſo that if any miſcarriage ſhould happen, or any odium be incurred, it might be thrown upon the gonfalonier, and not upon him. Luca was very importunate with the people to appoint a balia; but perceiving it was to no purpoſe, he not only treated thoſe who were members of the councils with great inſolence, but threatened them, and ſoon after put his threats in execution: for having filled the palace with armed men, in 1453 he called the people together in the piazza, and there compelled them, by force of arms†, to do that which they would not ſo much as hear of before. After they had thus reſumed the government, they created a balia; and the new magiſtrates, at the inſtigation of a few particular perſons, who adviſed them to ſupport an authority with terror which they had uſurped by force, began their adminiſtration with ſending Givolamo Machiavelli and ſome others into exile, and depriving many more of their honours and employments.

* Luca Pitti, tenuto nomo animoſo, et molto più audace, che ſavio, o prudente. Nerli, p. 48.

† Pero avendo Luca Pitti già conſumato il primo meſe del ſuo magiſtrato, non laſcio paſſare, molti giorni del ſecondo che avendo diſpoſto i ſignori ſuoi compagni, et provviſto il palazzo d'arme, e di forze, e Coſimo, e gli altri della parte eſſendoſi provveduti, e armati in favore de' ſignori, fecero chiamare il popolo in piazza e ſi venne al parlamento ſecondo il coſtume ſolito mediante il quale ſi creò una nuova balìa, e ſi riſtrinſe in quello lo ſtato, ordinandoſi nuove imborſaxioni, &c. Nerli, p. 49.

Guicchiardin

Guicchiardin begins his hiſtory of the wars in Italy, where Machiavel concludes that of Florence, viz. with the death of Lorenzo de Medici in April 1492, the ſame year that the ſagacity, fortitude, and good fortune, of that ever memorable native of Coguretto, a village near Genoa, Chriſtopher Columbus, of plebeian birth, but of noble genius, in the ſervice of Ferdinand and Iſabella of Spain*, laid the firſt foundation of the conſtitutions of the United States of America. The death of Lorenzo was a ſevere misfortune to his country, which had flouriſhed, under the influence of his prudence, reputation, and genius, in all the bleſſings and embelliſhments of a long and ſecure peace; and very inconvenient to all Italy, who regarded him as a principal counterbalance to Ferdinand of Naples, and Sforza of Milan, princes as ambitious as they were powerful. Peter the Second, the eldeſt of his three ſons, who ſucceeded him without contradiction, was not qualified by experience or abilities for ſo important a ſtation. Deviating early from the councils of his father, and without conſulting the principal citizens, he was wholly directed by Orſini, a relation both by his mother and his wife, but a dependant of Ferdinand. This new connection, ſo prudently avoided by his father, excited the jealouſy of Sforza, and was the ſource of all the enſuing evils. Without reciting the particulars of his vanity, raſhneſs, and imprudence, eſpecially a fooliſh treaty with France, which he made without conſulting the magiſtrates,

* Murarori, Annals, tom. ix. p. 367, anno 1492.

Guicchiardin, lib. 6. Americus Veſpucius, who began his voyages in 1497, the two firſt of which he made by order of Ferdinand of Caſtile, and the two laſt by order of Emanuel of Portugal, was a native of Florence.

no

on the ninth of November 1494, as he was going into the palace, Nerli, a youth of noble birth and great wealth, at the head of ſome others of the magiſtracy, ſtood armed at the gates*, and forbid him to enter. The populace, as ſoon as the report of the inſurrection ſpread in the town, inſtantly took arms. Peter, deſtitute of courage as well as advice, returned to his own houſe, where he was informed that the magiſtrates had declared him a rebel; upon which he fled with precipitation to Bologna, and was followed by his two brothers, Giovanni the cardinal, and Giulinaho, who were likewiſe attainted. Thus, through the raſhneſs and levity of a thoughtleſs youth, the family of the Medici fell, for the preſent, from a ſovereign power which they had exerciſed for ſixty years. From Bologna they went to Venice. After ſome time the king, their ally, obtained a reverſal of Peter's attainder, and that of his two brothers, and a reſtitution of their effects, on condition that Peter ſhould not approach within an hundred miles of the borders of the republic, which was deſigned to prevent him from ſettling in Rome; nor his brothers within an hundred of the city. After the exile of Peter and his brothers, the city of Florence attempted once more to reform its government†; but, ſays Nerli, the citizens who ought to have reformed the ſtate, fell into the ſame error with all who had preceded them in ſimilar enterprizes, and founded the new government, as others had done whoſe ſteps they followed, upon parties and civil factions, as may be ſeen in the whole hiſtory of Florence, and for the benefit and

* Nerli, p. 62. Nuratori, Annal. tom. iv. p. 374, anno 1494. Fu egli dichiarato co'fratelli ribello, poſta taglia contro le loro perſone, e poſcia meſſo a ſacco il ricchiſſimo loro palagior. † Nerli, p. 63.

convenience

convenience of the ſuperior party and more powerful factions, and not at all for the benefit of the generality, or the univerſal good; and therefore it was impoſſible that a pacific and quiet republic ſhould ſucceed, or a durable government be eſtabliſhed. They created however, according to the ancient cuſtom of the city, and by way of a parliament, always a ſcene of violence and inconſiſtent with all civil modeſty, twenty Accoppiatori, or aſſociates, with authority to imborſe the ſignori from time to time, and to create, with other reſtleſs diſturbers of the public peace, the principal magiſtrates; and they reſolved, that Lorenzo di Pierfranceſco di Medici, who then declared himſelf one of the inhabitants, de popolani, though under age, ſhould be one of the twenty; and this was accompliſhed by their extraordinary reputation and influence, and thus he was made the head of the new government; and this whole revolution changed nothing but the head, and not at all the nature of the government. It was in this convention, which Nerli calls a parliament, that thoſe elegant ſpeeches, which Guicchiardin * has preſerved or compoſed, one for Soderini, and the other for Veſpucci, are ſuppoſed to have been made: but it is ſurpriſing to ſee, that neither orators ſo eloquent and able, nor an hiſtorian who ſo elegantly reports the debate, appear to have once thought of the natural and neceſſary remedy. One is for a government ſimply popular, and the other for a form ſimply ariſtocratical; but neither thinks of an equal mixture of the three forms, nor even of the two, nor does an idea occur of ſeparating the legiſlative from the executive power. Soderini admits that, among

* Guicchiardin, lib. ii. p. 41. Ven. 1574.

all writers upon government, praiſes have been more liberally beſtowed upon the adminiſtration of a ſingle prince, and upon that of a few of the beſt citizens, than upon any popular government; but he thinks that the deſire of liberty is ſo natural or habitual in that city, and the condition of the citizens ſo proportioned to that equality which is the neceſſary foundation of a popular government, that this ought, without all doubt, to be preferred to all others: he even thinks a queſtion could not be made of this, as in all their conſultations it had ever been determined with univerſal conſent, that the city ſhould be governed in the name and by the authority of the people. But the diverſity of opinions aroſe from this, that ſome would cheerfully conſent in the regulation of the covention to that form of a republic with which the city governed itſelf before her liberty was oppreſſed by the family of the Medici; others, among whom he reckons himſelf, judging a government ſo ordered to have, in many things rather the name than the effects of a popular government, and terrified with the accidents which frequently reſult from ſuch governments, deſire a more perfect form, which may preſerve concord and ſecurity to the citizens, bleſſings which, neither from reaſon nor experience, can be expected in this city, if it is not under a government dependent entirely on the power of the people, which muſt however be well ordered by two fundamental regulations: the firſt of which is, that all the magiſtrates and officers, both in the city and all its dominions, ſhall be diſtributed, from time to time, by an *univerſal council* of all thoſe who, according to our laws, are qualified for a participation in government; without the approbation of which council new laws cannot be deliberated: thus,

thus, it not being in the power of private citizens, nor of any particular conſpiracy or intrigue, to diſtribute dignities or authority, none will be excluded from them by the paſſions or caprice of others, but they ſhall be beſtowed according to the virtues and merits of men: by conſequence, every one muſt endeavour by his virtues, good manners, and by rendering himſelf agreeable both in public and private life, to open his way to honours; every one muſt abſtain from vices and injuries to others, and, in one word, from all thoſe things which are odious in a well-conſtituted city. It will not be in the power of any one, nor of a few, by new laws, or by the authority of a magiſtrate, to introduce another government, or to pretend to alter this, but by the reſolution of the univerſal council.—The ſecond fundamental regulation is this, that all the moſt important deliberations, as thoſe of peace and war, the examination of new laws, and generally all thoſe things which are neceſſary to the adminiſtration of ſuch a city and dominion, ſhall be treated by magiſtrates, particularly deſtined to this ſervice, in a ſelect council of the moſt experienced and prudent citizens, who ſhall be deputed by the popular council; for as the knowledge of theſe affairs of ſtate is not found in every underſtanding, precautions ſhould be taken that the government may not fall into hands incapable of conducting it; and celerity and ſecrecy, which are often indiſpenſable, cannot be conſulted or preſerved in the deliberation of a multitude: nor is it neceſſary for the maintenance of liberty, that ſuch things ſhould be treated by large numbers; for liberty remains ſecure at all times when the diſtribution of magiſtracies, and the deliberation on new laws, depend on univerſal conſent.—Theſe two points being

being ſecured, the government will be truly popular, the liberty of the city well founded, and a laudable and durable form of a republic eſtabliſhed. He then compares his project with the plan of Venice, to which it has not however the ſmalleſt reſemblance; and proceeds: "This city of ours has never enjoyed a government like this, and therefore our public affairs have been conſtantly expoſed to frequent mutations; at one time trampled down by the violence of tyranny; at another torn by the ambitious and avaricious diſſenſions of the few; now ſhaken by the licentious fury of the multitude: and although cities are built for no end but the tranquility, ſecurity, and happy life of the inhabitants, the fruits of our government, our felicity, our repoſe, have been the continual confiſcations of our eſtates, the baniſhments and the executions on the ſcaffold of our miſerable citizens."

This is the ſubſtance of Sorderini's oration, in which he is fully ſenſible of the tyranny and ſlavery of alternate factions, and the conſequent miſeries with which the hiſtory of Florence was filled: but inſtead of propoſing a rational remedy, he is for aggravating the evil. The executive power, the appointment of officers, had been the cauſe of diſcord; he now only propoſes to give thoſe appointments to the multitude, inſtead of a ſenate; to the univerſal, inſtead of the particular council: the only effect of which would be, that more heads would be turned, and more paſſions inflamed.

The oration of Sorderini was anſwered by Veſpuci, a famous lawyer, and a man of ſingular genius and addreſs. "If," ſays he, "a government, inſtituted in the manner propoſed by Sorderini, moſt excellent citizens, would as eaſily produce ſuch

ſuch deſirable fruits, he would certainly diſcover a moſt corrupted character who ſhould wiſh for any other for the regulation of our country. He would be a moſt pernicious citizen, who ſhould not love, without reſerve, a form of a republic, in which virtue, merit, and the real value of men, ſhould be above all things acknowledged and honoured. But I confeſs myſelf ignorant, how it is poſſible to hope that a regiment, placed abſolutely in the power of the people, can be productive of ſuch mighty bleſſings. I am, on the contrary moſt aſſuredly confident, that reaſon teaches us, that experience demonſtrates, and that the authority of the greateſt lawgivers confirms, that in ſo great multitude there can never be found ſuch prudence, ſuch experience, and ſuch order, that we may have room to promiſe ourſelves that the wiſe will be preferred to the ignorant, the good to the evil, or men of experience to thoſe who have never ſeen a public tranſaction. As from an incapable and unſkilful judge it is not poſſible to hope for a ſagacious ſentence; ſo from a people, immerſed in ignorance and involved in confuſion, we cannot expect, without a miracle, prudent deliberations or rational elections. Can we believe that a multitude, inexpert, unſkilful, compounded of ſo great a variety of geniuſes, conditions, and cuſtoms, and wholly devoted to their private affairs, can poſſibly diſtinguiſh and know thoſe intricate intereſts and duties of the public, which men of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, who are wholly inattentive to any other buſineſs, are often with great difficulty able to diſcern? Not to mention, that the unbounded eſteem which every one entertains of himſelf, will ſtimulate them all to become ambitious of honours: nor will it ever be ſatisfactory to men in a popular government

ment to enjoy the honeſt fruits of liberty, but all will aſpire to the higheſt rank, and be impatient to intermeddle in all deliberations upon affairs of the moſt importance and greateſt difficulty; for among us there is leſs than in any other city in the world of that modeſty, which yields the precedence to him who has more knowledge or more merit. Perſuading ourſelves as we do, that, in reaſon and by right, we ought all of us to be equal in all things, the applauſe of virtue and merit, if left in the diſpoſition of the multitude, will be confounded, and this ambition being diffuſed through the majority, will deſignedly beſtow the moſt power on the moſt ignorant and the leaſt meritorious, becauſe, being by much the moſt numerous, they will have the moſt influence in a ſtate ſo conſtituted, that opinions muſt be numbered and not weighed. What certainty therefore can you have, that although they may be ſatisfied with the form that you introduce at preſent, they will not preſently diſarrange the inſtitutions the moſt wiſely concerted, by their novel inventions and imprudent laws, to which the wiſeſt citizens will not be able to reſiſt? Theſe things, at all times dangerous in ſuch a government, will be much more ſo at preſent, becauſe it is the nature of mankind, when they fly from one extreme, in which they have been held by violence, to ruſh with greater violence, without ſtopping at the mean, to the other extremity. Thus he who eſcapes from a tyranny, if unreſtrained, precipitates himſelf into an unbridled licentiouſneſs, which alſo may moſt juſtly be called a tyranny; for a people is exactly like a tyrant, when they give to him who has no merit, when they take away from him who has much, when they confound all gradations and diſtinc-

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tions of perſons, and their tyranny is perhaps ſo much the more peſtiferous, as ignorance, which has no weights, nor meaſures, nor laws, is more dangerous even than malignity, which may govern itſelf by ſome rule, reſtrain itſelf by ſome bridle, and ſatisfy itſelf with ſome end. Has this city ever been under the abſolute government of the people, without becoming an inſtant prey to diſcord, without being ſhaken to its foundation, and without ſuffering an immediate revolution in the ſtate? Why are not our liberties ſecure under the government propoſed in this parliament? All things are referred to the diſpoſition of magiſtrates, who are not perpetual, but are frequently changed; who are not elected by a few, but, having been approved by many, are appointed, according to the ancient uſage of the city, by lot. How then can they be appointed by factions, or by the will of particular citizens? We ſhall have a much greater certainty, that affairs of the moſt importance will be examined and directed by men of the moſt wiſdom, experience, and gravity, who will govern with more order, ſecrecy and, maturity of judgment, than it is poſſible for a people, who are incapable of ſuch things, to poſſeſs: a people, who are often, when there is little occaſion for it, moſt extravagantly ſplendid and expenſive, and oftener ſtill, when there is the moſt urgent neceſſity, are ſo penurious and niggardly, as to ruſh upon the greateſt dangers and expences, for the ſake of ſaving the moſt trifling ſums."

In truth, both theſe ſpeeches, with all their eloquence, were thrown away. Soderini was for collecting all authority into one centre, the people; and Veſpuci into another, the ſenate: neither dared propoſe a ſeparation of the executive from both in a firſt magiſtrate; and without that, and admitting

ting both the ſenate and people to a ſhare, there could be no peace nor harmony in Florence. The queſtion, however, was not decided by the logic or rhetoric of either: few of the citizens attended the convention, and the vote would have been for the ariſtocracy of Veſpuci, if another orator had not intervened. This was Savanarola the prophet, who declared, that he had a divine revelation from heaven in favour of a popular government, and that Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be choſen king of Florence*, againſt his own expreſs declaration, that his kingdom was not of this world.—The twenty accoppiatori, who had no head to keep them united, and neceſſarily fell into a variety of factions and diviſions among themſelves, perceiving their diſſenſions, the other citizens in general, and eſpecially all thoſe of the greateſt reputation, who at the election of the twenty had not been choſen of the number, began to take courage, and raiſe a cry againſt them for their diviſions, and the † weakneſs of their government: and Savanarola declared, that God had conſtituted him his ambaſſador in Florence, with full power and expreſs orders to declare his will, that Chriſt ſhould be king, and that under him the city ſhould be governed only by a ſingle aſſembly or popular council. The multitude believed him, and in 1495 the twenty were all obliged to reſign, and give place to the greater council and popular government ‡, and a new palace was built for them, with ſuch ardent enthuſiaſm, that it ſeemed to be true, as Savanarola declared, that the angels had acted as maſons and architects, that

* Nerli, p. 65. † Nerli, p. 64.

‡ Il conſiglio maggiore, e il governo popolare. Nerli, p. 66. Che gli angioli in quell' opera s'eſeritaſſero inluogo de Marutoi, et operai, perche piu preſto fuſſe finita.

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the work might be the ſooner finiſhed. But this new government could no better agree than the accoppiatori and for the ſame reaſon. The new great council, as well as the whole city, ſoon divided into three parties. The greateſt and moſt powerful was that which depended upon Fra. Giralamo, and was called the party of the Frateſchi, and conſiſted of thoſe who moſt deſired to live freely, and nearly of all thoſe who were gratified with the latitude of the popular government. The ſecond party were deſirous of having the government more reſtrained, and in the hands of a ſmaller number of the principal citizens; but were ſtill deſirous of liberty, and, as well as the Frateſchi, were in oppoſition to the party of the Medici. The third party conſiſted of thoſe who wiſhed for the return of the Medici, and the reſtoration of the old government. The views, motives, and manœuvres of theſe three factions are particularly deſcribed by Nerli. and their jealouſies, envies, ambition, and various ſchemes to ſupplant each other, in ſo natural a manner, that one would think his hiſtory written expreſsly to expoſe the folly of a government in one center.

In 1495 the Florentines met with freſh and dangerous troubles from other quarters, excited by the potentates of the league, who encouraged Peter to attempt his reſtoration to Florence. Peter, like all other exiles, ready to embrace every offer, imagined his own party powerful, and the new government odious, eſpecially to the nobility: ſo that he could not fail of ſucceſs: he made ſeveral advances, and excited ſome exertions among his friends, but was diſappointed of any effectual aſſiſtance, and at length gives up the enterpriſe.

In 1497, the pope and Venetians conceived a new project for ſeparating the Florentines from the French, the unhappy ſtate of their city, in which there were ſuch great diviſions among the citizens, owing to the form of their government, giving encouragement to any power that wiſhed to moleſt them; for, ſays Guicchiardin, in the firſt inſtitution of the popular authority in Florence, there had not been introduced a mixture of thoſe temperaments, which, together with ſecuring, by ſuitable methods, the common liberty, might prevent the republic from being thrown into confuſion by the ignorance and licentiouſneſs of the multitude. For this reaſon, the citizens of better rank, meeting with leſs reſpect than their condition ſeemed to require, and the people on the other hand jealous of their ambition, multitudes of mean capacities frequently aſſiſting at important debates, and the ſupreme magiſtracy, to whom was referred the deciſion of the moſt difficult affairs, being changed every two months, much confuſion was occaſioned in the government of the republic. To this muſt be added, the great authority of Savanarola, whoſe followers were more numerous than thoſe of the contrary opinion, and appeared to have much the greater ſhare in the diſtribution of places in the magiſtracy, and of public honours; by which means the city becoming manifeſtly divided, one party ſtill claſhed with the other in all the public deliberations, as it always happens in divided cities, when *men care not how much they obſtruct the common good, for the ſake of lowering the reputation of the adverſe party.* Theſe diſorders were the more dangerous, becauſe, beſides the long vexations and great burthens borne by that city, there was that year a very

a very great ſcarcity: whence it might be preſumed, that the half-ſtarved populace were deſirous of a change. This unhappy diſpoſition gave hope to Peter, who was beſides incited by ſome of the citizens. By ſecret aſſiſtance from the Venetians, and various other ways, he collected together a military force, and made an attempt, in 1497, upon Florence; but having neither genius nor reſources he failed. His partiſans committed a number of maſſacres in ſome of the neighbouring towns: but his plot was diſcovered, and his principal friends in Florence, after full proof of the order and management of the conſpiracy, were convicted and ſentenced to death. The relations of the perſons condemned appealed to the grand council of the people, by virtue of a law that was made when the popular government was eſtabliſhed. The other party, apprehending that compaſſion on the age, and nobility, and number of the relations of the criminals, might prevail on the affections of the people, ſeveral members of the ſupreme magiſtracy were, by preſſing importunities, and almoſt by force and menaces, conſtrained to conſent, that, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the appeal, execution ſhould be done the ſame night. Of what avail is law in ſuch a government, for the protection of life, or ſecurity of liberty! The moſt zealous ſticklers for this were the favourers of Savanarola, who was reproached for not diſſuading his followers from the violation of a law, which but a few years before had been propoſed by himſelf, as neceſſary for the preſervation of liberty. But a dominent party, when there are but two, and no third power to balance them, is never long bound by any law, morals, or decency.

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The next year, 1498, Savanarolo himſelf was burnt, not for his enthuſiaſtic impoſtures, but for preaching againſt the corruptions of the court of Rome, under that helliſh monſter of vice and cruelty Alexander the Sixth, which would not have been remembered here, if politics and party, rather then piety, had not produced this event, as well as the aſſaſſination of Franceſco Valori, a nobleman of great influence, for being the chief patron of Savanarola, and the cauſe that the appeal to the popular council had not been admitted. The paſſions of party, their hatred and revenge, as well as their ambition, under ſuch unbalanced governments, lay hold of any popular prejudice, and moſt frequently of a religious zeal, and the aſſiſtance of any means, even the friendſhip of an Alexander and a Borgia, to aid their gratification. But ſcattering the aſhes of this martyr in the Arno did not, ſays Nerli, quench the flames of diſcord, nor heal the diviſions of the city. The people remained in the ſame diſſenſions, every one quarrelling for his faction as uſual *; and freſh diſputes and diſſenſions aroſe; firſt, between Vitelli and the count Di Marciano; ſecond by reaſon of the difference between the king of France and the duke of Milan; and third, on account of elections and the magiſtracies.

In 1500 Cæſar Borgia†, having already ſubjected a great part of Romagna, deſirous of extending his dominions in Tuſcany, and having good intelligence of the diſpoſition and diviſions

* Nerli. p. 81. Reſto il popolo noſtro nelle medeſime diſſenſioni, e travaglito dalle ſue ſolite ſette, come ſi fuſſe prima.

† Nerli, p. 88. Murtori, Annals. tom. x. p. 1.

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in the city of Florence, attempted to reſtore the Medici, and was diverted from the enterpriſe by an embaſſy and a round ſum of money. In 1502 a rebellion was exbited in the city of Arezzo, which excited freſh diviſions in Florence, and produced new attempts to reform the government; firſt, by giving a head to the greater council; and ſecond, to conſtitute a gonfalonier for life; and Sodirini, who had no children, had great qualities, was moderately rich, of a family of great reputation, &c. and had rendered important ſervices to the ſtate upon many occaſions, was accordingly elected. But he had no thoughts of changing the popular government any further, and was ſoon found to have too much moderation for ſome of his friends. Rucellai, and Lorenzo di Pierfranceſco de Medici, and ſome other citizens, broke off from him, would not attend his feaſts, and grew diſcontented.

1502. This year died the pope, Alexander the Sixth, and Peter de Medici, who, with ſome other noblemen, following the French camp after their defeat by the Spaniards at Gaeta, entered on board a bark which was laden with artillery, and was drowned at the mouth of the river, by the bark's ſinking under her burthen in a contrary wind. But theſe events, ſo fortunate in appearance for Florence, could not ſecure her tranquillity. The new gonfalonier for life had many parties in fermentation againſt him: thoſe who deſired a more popular government, and that his office ſhould only be annual, or for three months; thoſe of his own party, who thought him not zealous enough to make the government more ariſtocratical: and thoſe who wiſhed the reſtoration of the Medici, and a government completely monarchical. All theſe various kinds of citizens were daily obſerving

ſerving his conduct, criticiſing his adminiſtration, exaggerating his errors, and deſtroying his reputation and popularity.

In 1505, Bartolomeo d'Alviano invaded their country*, with a view to aſſiſt the Medici, but he was routed and put to flight. From ſo great a victory the citizens hoped for happineſs, quiet, and repoſe; but the effects of it were quite the contrary, and increaſed the ſecret oppoſition and cabals of the diſcontented citizens againſt the gonfalonier. Bentivoglio, ambitious to be made captain-general, and Giacomini, to increaſe his popularity, united in the deſire of adding to the glory they had acquired in the late victory the conqueſt of Piſa. The project of this enterpriſe occaſioned great confuſions in the city. The wiſeſt and beſt men declared themſelves againſt it, but ſuch numbers were bent upon it, that the gonfalonier, either blinded by the ſame paſſions ariſing from ſucceſs, or to counteract his adverſaries, or confiding too much in Bentivoglio, fell in with it. After tedious diſputes, angry accuſations, and mutual reproaches in the city, the enterpriſe was reſolved in the great council, with loud huzzas of the common people. A great expence was incurred in ample preparations, but the end was as unfortunate as the wiſer citizens had predicted;

* Nerli, p. 95. Muratori, Annals, tom. x. p. 25, 26.—Franno i cittadini quaſi tutti dichiarati a quale della due parte piu aderiſſero, o a quella del gonfaloniere, o a quella de' Salviati, di maniera ché nel fare de parentadi, o nel concedere per mezzo de' magiſtrati grazie o benefizi, o nel favorir queſto, o quell' altro cittadino, che de' magiſtrati aveſſe biſogno, ſi ſcoprivano le paſſioni, e gl' intereſſi del gonfaloniere, o de' Salviati, ed in ſomma veniva in gara, ſe ſi dovevano pure rimutare, o di nuovo eleggere per inſino a' tavolaccini del palazzo, e in ogni minima coſa ſi ſcoprivano gl' entereſſi delle ſetti. Nerli, lib. v. p. 99.

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the two principal officers loſt all the credit of their former ſervices, and Sodorini, the gonfalonier, loſt much of his reputation, more of the popular confidence and affection; and in proportion as theſe fell, thoſe who had oppoſed the war roſe in the public eſteem. The enemies of the gonfalonier increaſed, and their oppoſition, headed by the Salviati, grew more active and determined, and weakened the government to ſuch a degree, that it was unable to execute the reſolutions, when taken by ſo ſmall majorities, or to command the ſoldiers; or to elect the council, the eight commiſſaries of war, or ambaſſadors, or indeed reſolve upon any thing. The two parties could agree upon nothing, and all the citizens were ſo decidedly declared partiſans, either of the gonfalonier, or of the Salviati, that they would not intermarry, or ever give a vote for any man to any office or public favour, who was not of their ſide.

Cauſes enough of debate in the grand council, and in the city, aroſe from day to day. In 1506, an ordinance for regulating the militia in the country, and enrolling every man from fifteen to fifty years of age under captains and colours, for frequent exerciſe in the military art; the demand of Alfonſina Orſini, the widow of Peter de Medici, of the reſtitution of her dower, confiſcated with the eſtate of her huſband; the marriage of her daughter Clariſſa to Philip Strozzi; the reſignation of a ſucceſſor; the war of Piſa: in 1508, the creation of commiſſaries; the conceſſion of Piſa to the King of France; — all occaſioned ſuch ſtruggles, as excited at laſt a conſpiracy againſt the gonfalonier, in order to aſſaſſinate him, for the purpoſe of introducing the reſtoration of the Medici. This plot was diſcovered.

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but the guilty perſons had ſuch parties in the city, and the gonfalonier was become ſo unpopular, that the ſlighteſt puniſhment only could be inflicted. As in ſuch a ſtate of parties every meaſure of government is oppoſed, another controverſy aroſe about the continuance of the truce with Siena, which was at laſt agreed to upon the conceſſion of Montepulciano. Various new diſputes were now occaſioned by the new council in Piſa. Finally, the city found that, amidſt all the great tranſactions in Italy, by the diviſions among the citizens, and their continual oppoſitions to each other in every reaſonable meaſure, they had not only very ill ſerved their ally the king, but given great offence to the pope.

In 1512, was the battle of Ravenna; and after a long ſeries of wars, in wich the emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, the Swiſs, the pope, the Venetians, and all other ſtates in Italy had been concerned, a congreſs was held at Mantou in 1512. Giuliano de Medici, in his own name, and that of the cardinal, here ſolicited an interpriſe againſt the Florentines. A revolution he pretended might be eaſily effected in that ſtate, through the diviſons of the citizens, many of whom wiſhed for the return of his family. By private intelligence, which he ſaid he maintained with ſeveral noble and powerful perſonages in the city, he thought a ſudden attack might eaſily ſucceed, and the conſequence would be, the taking the power of Florence out of the hands of one who depended on the king of France, and committing it to perſons who, injured and abuſed by him, would acknowledge no alliance but that of the confederates. He was ſeconded, in the name of the pope, by Bernardo de Bibiena, afterwards cardinal, who had been educated in the family of Medici,

Medici. An offer was ſecretly made to Sodorini, a lawyer, and brother of the gonfalonier, who was then ambaſſador from Florence, that if the Florentines would comply with the demand of a ſum of money, the emperor and king of Arragon ſhould take them under their protection. The ambaſſador had no authority to conclude any agreement, and could only make his report to the republic. It was believed, that if the Florentines had laid aſide their niggardly chaffering about the price, they might have diverted the ſtorm; but either through the careleſſneſs or the malignity of men, the cauſe of that city was abandoned, and it was reſolved that the Spaniſh army attended by the cardinal and Giuliano de Medici, ſhould march towards Florence, and that the cardinal, whom the pope in this expedition had declared legate of Tuſcany, ſhould call to his aſſiſtance the ſoldiers of the church, and thoſe of the neighbouring towns, whom he thought fit for his purpoſe. The viceroy, at the head of the Spaniſh army, was no ſooner entered the Florentine dominions, than he was met by an ambaſſador of the republic, to know what he required of them. The viceroy demanded, in the name of all the confederates, that the gonfalonier ſhould be deprived of his office, and that ſuch a form of government ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as would not give occaſion of umbrage to the allied powers, which could not be effected without reſtoring the cardinal and Giuliano de Medici to their country. —The government of Florence was in the greateſt conſternation, from the diviſions among the citizens, and the inclinations of multitudes to a change. A meſſage arrived from the viceroy, that it was not the intention of the league to make any alteration in the government or liberty of the city, but

but only to remove the gonfalonier from the magiſtracy, for the ſecurity of Italy, and to reſtore the Medici, not as heads of the government, but as private perſons, to live under ſubjection to the laws and to the magiſtracy in all things. Various were the opinions in the city, according to the difference of men's judgments, paſſions, and fears. Ths gonfalonier, in a long harangue to the great The gonfalonier, in a long harangue to the great council*, offered either to reſign his envied office, or defend it at the hazard of this life, as they ſhould determine. If the Medici, ſays he, have an inclination to live as private citizens, in due ſubjection to the ordinances of the magiſtrates and of your laws, their reſtoration would be laudable; but let not any one imagine, that the government of the Medici will be exerciſed in the ſame manner as before their expulſion. The form and foundation of things are changed: educated among us, they were familiar as other citizens, and, poſſeſſed of vaſt eſtates in proportion to their high dignity, they laid the foundation of their greatneſs in the affections of the citizens; but now, bred up in ſtrange cuſtoms, and having little inſight into our civil affairs, reſenting their exile, very indigent, affronted by ſo many families, conſcious that the greater part of the people abhor tyranny, conſtrained by poverty and ſuſpicion, they will have no conſideration for any citizen, but will engroſs the direction of all affairs to themſelves, and

* Fece al popolo una orazione belliſſima, che a que' tempi, e in quel caſo era molto a propoſito, la quale, eſſendo io allora in quel conſiglio, udii quando la fece, ed è anco molto elegantemente ſcritta da Meſſer Franceſco Guicciardini nella ſua ſtoria. Narrò in quella il gonfaloniere tutte le ſue azioni di dieci anni; dipoi offerſe sè, la facultá, e la propria vita per beneficio dell cittá, e per mantenere quel libero governo, ed alla fine ſi rimeſſe tutto in quel popolo, che l'aveva poſto in quel grado.

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eſtabliſh their adminiſtration on fear and force, not love and benevolence. The city will become like Bologna under the Bentivogli, or like Siena and Perugia.—It was with wonderful unanimity reſolved to conſent to the return of the Medici, as private citizens, but to refuſe the removal of the gonfalonier, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; and all hands were ſet to work to prepare for war, and the defence of Prato. The viceroy laid ſiege to Prato, took it by aſſault, which was followed by flight, ſhrieks, violence, rapine, blood, and ſlaughter. This ſad diſaſter produced a vaſt change in the minds of the people at Florence; the gonfalonier repenting of his counſel, terrified, and deprived at once of all eſteem and authority; others grew audacious: ſeveral young noblemen, with one of the family of Albizzi at their head, who had been in ſecret correſpondence with the Medici, forced the gonfalonier out of the public palace, and the magiſtrates were compelled to depoſe him*. He fled to Raguſa. Ambaſſadors

* Tal fine ebbe il ſupremo magiſtrato di Piero Soderini eſercitato da eſſo neve anni, e dieci meſi, e ſe in tale amminiſtrazione, oltre a molte ſue buone opere, aveſſe aggiunto quel, che anche molto piu importava alla citta, e a lui, l'aver tenuto piu conto, che non fece, di chi veramente l'av va condotto in quel grado, giovava forſe piu aſſai, che non fece, alla citta, a ſuoi cittadini, a ſe medeſimo, ed alla ſua caſa, e ſarebbeſi quel governo popolare forſe anche meglio mantenuto, come ſi mantenne, ne primi otto anni, che ſi reſſe ſenza capo alcuno dopo il 1494, che non fece poi in quei dieci, che lo reſſe Piero Sodorini. E ſe quel ſuo governo di nove anni e dieci meſi fu, ed e ancora tanto lodato, necque da quel buono ordine, che ſi tenne piu nello ſplendere, e nello ſtare meglio ordinata la citta, che in quelli primi otto anni non ſi fece, e dal conſiderarlo piu da quello, che pareva in apparenza, che da quello, che era in fatti, ed in ſomma il gonfaloniere non ſeppe mai eſſer principe ne cattivo, ne buono, e credette, troppo colla pazienza, godendo, come ſi dice, il benefizio del tempo, ſuperar tutte le difficulta, che ſegli oppone-vano, e non bene avverti, come debbono fare i principi ſavi, e i buoni capi, e governatori di republica, che ſempre, e ad ogni coſia la pazienzi non giova, e che il tempo a lungo andare puo arrecaſe conſi nale, come bene. Nerli, p, 109, 110.

Ambaſſadors were ſent to the viceroy, with whom, by means of the cardinal de Medici, they eaſily made an accommodation. He inſiſted only on the reſtoration of his family and their adherents, as private citizens, with power to redeem, within a certain time, the confiſcated eſtates, indemnifying thoſe to whom they had been transferred for the purchaſe and improvements. The Florentines were obliged to enter into the league, pay the emperor forty thouſand ducats, the viceroy eighty thouſand for his army, and twenty thouſand for himſelf. They made a league beſides with the king of Arragon, under reciprocal obligations of aſſiſting each other. It is aſtoniſhing that the Florentines ſhould not yet be able to ſee the cauſes of their continual misfortunes, and the neceſſity of different orders, and a balance in their conſtitution. The citizens now applied themſelves to reform their government, to preſerve their liberty, and the popular council, their all authority in one centre, their right conſtitution of a commonwealth. To this end they enacted, that the gonfalonier ſhould no longer be elected for life, but only for a year, that to the council of eighteen, which was changed every ſix months, and by whoſe authority the moſt weighty affairs were determined, ſhould be added, for life, all thoſe who had diſcharged the great offices of ſtate at home or abroad, that the citizens of greateſt quality might always aſſiſt at their debates: at home, ſuch as had been gonfaloniers of juſtice, or of the number of the ten of the balia, a magiſtracy of great authority

thority in that republic; of ſuch as had ſerved abroad, all who by election of the council of eighty had been ſent ambaſſadors to princes or had been commiſſaries general in war: in all other points the laws remained without alteration. Ridolfi, a noble citizen, was elected golfalonier for the firſt year; the people, as uſual in troubleſome times, not paying ſo much regard to thoſe who were moſt acceptable to them for popular arts, as to perſons who by his great authority in the city, eſpecially with the nobility, and by his own extraordinary talents, was beſt capable of eſtabliſhing the tottering commonwealth. But things were now gone too far, and the enemies of public liberty were become too powerful: a ſuſpected army was in the country, and the moſt audacious youth in the city were deſirous of oppreſſing liberty. With them concurred in thoughts and deeds, though in words he pretended the contrary, the cardinal de Medici; for the reſtoration of his family as private citizens could not have been thought from the beginning a reward worthy of ſo great fatigues and dangers. But now he conſidered, that they muſt be univerſally deteſted by the people, from a ſuſpicion that they would be continually exciting conſpiracies againſt their liberty, and from the indignation conceived againſt the family for conducting the Spaniſh army againſt their country, and being the cauſe of the barbarous ſackage of Patro. The cardinal was ſtimulated too by thoſe who had before conſpired with him, and had no honourable ſtation in the new commonwealth. He therefore obtained the conſent of the viceroy, unexpectedly entered Florence, and repaired to the houſes of the Medici with a number of Italian officers and ſoldiers, the magiſtrates not daring to forbid their entrance, on account

count of the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh army. The next day a great number of citizens being aſſembled in council in the palace, and Guiliano de Medici among the reſt, the ſoldiers ſuddenly forced the gate, and ruſhing up ſtairs, took poſſeſſion of the palace. The gonfalonier and the magiſtrates were forced to ſubmit to the will of a man, whoſe arms were more powerful than their unarmed reverence, and at the motion of Giuliano, called, by ſound of the bell, an aſſembly of the people in the ſquare of the palace. Here thoſe who met, finding themſelves ſurrounded by armed ſoldiers, and the youth of the city in arms for the Medici, conſented that fifty citizens, nominated with the approbation of the cardinal de Medici, ſhould be inveſted with the whole ſovereign power of the people, which the Florentines call a balia. The government was reduced to that from which ſubſiſted before 1494, a guard was ſtationed at the palace, and the Medici reſumed their former grandeur, but governed more imperiouſly, and with more abſolute authority than their father Peter had done. After this manner was the liberty of the Florentines oppreſſed by arms, being reduced to this condition by the diviſions among the citizens. This was in 1512.—In 1513, the pope Julius the ſecond died, and the cardinals in conclave unanimouſly elected Giovanni cardinal.

On the firſt of September 1512, the new ſignori, without any gonfalonier or ſupreme magiſtrate, united with Giuliano de Medici, and the principal citizens of Florence, and eſpecially with thoſe who, having been in oppoſition to Soderini, or being relations, or declared friends of the Medici, were the moſt in their confidence, to give orders for a new reformation of the city. It was thereupon

thereupon ordained, by an intrigue of the ſignori, that a cabal of about twenty citizens ſhould determine among themſelves the mode of reformation in the ſtate; but even in this junto aroſe many conteſts, and various projects were propoſed. There were among them ſome who, without conſidering the forcible manner in which the Medici had returned, wiſhed to re-eſtabliſh the popular government, and maintain by all means the grand council, at leaſt in part, in its authority, and in order to give the government a head, would conſtitute a gonfalonier for one year, or two at moſt; and deſired farther, in order to give a greater perfection to the government, to make an addition of ſelect citizens to the council of eighty, who ſhould be, as a ſenate of the beſt men, for life with a certain authority and full power, and with certain particular orders and preſcribed forms; and of this opinion were the greater part of thoſe citizens who had been in oppoſition to Soderini, not ſo much from attachment to the Medici, as for other reaſons. The Medici, and their moſt avowed partiſans, and chiefly thoſe who in their oppoſition to Soderini had diſcovered themſelves the moſt averſe to the popular ſtate, becauſe they did not think they could obtain pardon from the people, could ſcarcely hope to live in freedom, and were ſure to have no ſhare in the government, would, for their greater ſecurity, reſtrain the ſtate to its ancient form, and reform it by a convention, not believing that they could accompliſh it in the ordinary way, as it had been reſtrained in the houſe of Medici before the year 1494. And after many accommodating manœuvres of Giuliano de Medici, by his great facility and kindneſs with thoſe who deſired a large government, and to preſerve the grand council, it was concluded to paſs a law in this cabal, for the

the reformation of this government, and it was accordingly propoſed in the grand council, and received with great applauſe; for every body was ſo diſpirited, and ſo terrified with the thoughts of a convention of the people, which was much talked of and greatly deſired by thoſe who wiſhed to reſtrain the ſtate into ariſtocracy, that this new law of reform was highly reliſhed, as it leſſened the authority both of the people and the grand council. By the new law it was ordained, that for the future the gonfalonier ſhould be created by the grand council for one year, who ſhould be diſqualified from holding the office for five ſubſequent years, and that all his connection ſhould be excluded during his year from holding any of the greater magiſtracies, ſuch as thoſe of the ſignori, the ſixteen gonfaloniers of the companies of the people, and the twelve buonhomini: the chief magiſtrate was alſo prohibited from holding any negociation or correſpondence with any other prince, republic, or lord, in or out of Italy; from opening any letters addreſſed to the ſignori or any other magiſtrate, without the preſence of two thirds of the ſignori his companions; or even any letter addreſſed to him alone, without the preſence of two at leaſt of the ſignori, who, under the pains of perjury, were obliged to ſhew ſuch letters to the other ſignori, if they found any thing in ſuch letters relative to the ſtate or public affairs. The ladies too, and families of the gonfaloniers, were prohibited from inhabiting the palace, and from ſending any letters or meſſages to any officer or magiſtrate abroad or at home and the gonfalonier was aſſigned for his whole ſalary four hundred golden florins a year: and as to the mode of electing the ſenate, ſurpluſage or optimates before mentioned ſuch diſpoſition

poſition was made, by this new law for the reformation of the government, that for the future, at all adminiſtrations, deliberations, and elections of magiſtrates uſually made in the council of eighty, ſhould intevene during their lives, all the then preſent ſignori, and all thoſe citizens who at any time had been gonfaloniers of juſtice, all thoſe who had ſat among the ten magiſtrates for war, and all who at any time had been elected ambaſſadors in the council of eighty to any prince or lord in or out of Italy; and to provide for thoſe families or ſocieties, in which there were not men of any ſuch deſcription, it was provided by the law, that ſuch families might claim as far as two members, if they had not the number of two, or if they had not one, with the ordinary qualifications, but no more; and that ſuch ſupplementary additions from the families ſhould not amount to more than fifty in the whole, to be elected in the council of eighty, with its new addition, giving of theſe fifty a convenient part to the leſſer arts, according to the order at that time in the city: and becauſe Giuliano de Medici, and ſome of his declared friends, were incapable, either by minority of age, or by having in their families two or more who came within the ordinary rules, it was provided by the law (that they might not be excluded) that by a reſolution of the ſignori alone, eleven more, beſides the fifty, might be elected, eight of whom might be under the age preſcribed at forty years. In the manner was the council of eighty, with its addition, to be conſtituted, and in it, from time to time, were to be created the ſignori, the ten magiſtrates for war and the eight for the guard, in ſuch manner as thoſe magiſtrates were wont to be elected in the greater council, obſerving the order of elections

in the quarters of the arts and all the forms which had been obſerved in electing ſuch magiſtrates in the greater council. And to facilitate ſtill further the public buſineſs, and to take away ſtill more effectually, both from the people and the great council, the opportunity and the power of diſarranging the public councils by withholding ſupplies of money, admoniſhed by many paſt examples, the law provided, that ſuch proviſions of money and impoſition of taxes, for the public occaſions, ſhould be paſſed, in the firſt place, in the council of eighty, with the addition, by two thirds of the black votes or balls, according to the forms of balloting, and be concurred in the greater council by a diviſion of one half of the black votes, and one more. The law was paſſed, and the ſame day, in October 1513, and in the ſame council, they proceeded to the election of a new gonfalonier. At the firſt ballet there was no choice, but at the ſecond Giovambatiſta di Luigi Ridolfi was elected, and, in the preſence of the council, took upon him, with the other ſignori, the ſupreme magiſtracy *.

This plan of reformation, however, had greatly terrified the partiſans and moſt declared friends of the

* In queſto tempo, per ordine de' vincitori, fu fatto menzione nel libro publico, chiamato il prioriſta, del parlamento fatto, e, de' Medeci reſtituiti alla patria, a piede di quel priorato, che'era entrato in officio a di primo di Settembre 1512, eſſendo gonfaloniere di Giuſtizia Giouambatiſta Ridolph, nel qual prioriſta, ſi notano tutti i ſignori priori, che alla giornata ſi fanno, et aggiunto a cio come la nobilta ſi era vindicata, e ridotta in liberta, e riformato to, e ſtabilito il governo della citta, ſecondo la volonta de gli ottimati, e patrizii. La quale diſtinzione di uobilta, et ignobilta, confeſſo io ingenuamentet non haver mai ſaputo fare, ancora che io ſia nato, et allevato nella medeſima patria. Ma la lezzione delle preſenti memorie farac cognoſcere colleſpeſſe mutazion-

the Medici, as it appeared to them they ſhould be in great danger when an accommodation ſhould be made with the league and the Spaniſh army ſhould be marched out of the dominions, of being again baniſhed from Florence, to their total ruin, that of the new conſtitution, and the whole houſe of Medici; and in this apprehenſion they were well grounded, for although there was in the new plan an attempt at three natural branches, yet the executive power, and the power of the purſe, were both left in the hands of the ariſtocracy, which would have inſtantly produced a diviſion both among nobles and people, and the deſtruction of the houſe of Medici, as well as of the feeble popular branch of the conſtitution. Here was the beſt poſſible opportunity for introducing the moſt perfect form, by giving the executive power to one of the Medici, the power of the purſe to the people, and the giſlative power to both, together with the nobility: but either no man underſtood the ſubject, or too much ambition in the Medici, too much pride in the nobility, or too many prejudices in the people, or all three together, prevented it. The election too, of Rodolfi, who was thought to be, as indeed he was, a ſpirited man, of a ce-

zioni d'animi, e di penſieri, e delle opere, quale ſia ſtata ſempre la diverſità, e la contrarieta de gli humori d'noſtri cittadini. Concioſia cola che io hebbia veduto i figliuoli diſcordare da padri proprii, et i fratelli da i medeſimi fratelli nell' azzioni di queſta ſtolta favola del mondo, ſecondo che chiaſcuno e ſtato vinto, e traportato dall' impieto de' proprii appetiti. Nardi, lib. vi, p. 266.

Je n'ai pas pu comprendre, j'amais, ce que c'eſt que la nobleſſe; Qu'eſt ce que c'eſt, que la nobleſſe? ſaid one of the firſt ducheſſes in France. Ah madame, C'eſt un droit divin, ſaid a gentleman in company. Oui, tout come la royautè, tout de meme, je vous comprend bien, replied the lady, who had too much ſenſe to pique herſelf on her divinity, or to believe a ſyllable of the matter.

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lebrated houſe, moſt illuſtrious parentage, and of great reputation, increaſed their terror, eſpecially at Ridolfi, in the deliberations on the new reformation, had diſcovered himſelf much in favour of a popular life, and having been ordinarily conſpicuous in the faction of Frateſca, among whom he had been incorporated among the firſt after Valori, and having always, in all times, conjunctures, and circumſtances, favoured that party which was always in oppoſition to the houſe of Medici, as is manifeſt to any one who has any knowledge of thoſe times: whereupon many of the moſt open friends of the Medici, and thoſe who moſt dreaded a popular government, entered into cloſe concert with the cardinal de Medici, for the purpoſe of correcting the errors which Giuliano his brother, by his too great facility had ſuffered to ſlide in. It was not difficult to diſpoſe the cardinal to this, as they found him, ſince the late reformation, under the ſame apprehenſions, and in the ſame diſpoſition with themſelves, neither himſelf, nor Meſſer Giulio, prior of Capua, his couſin; and a natural ſon, who remained of that Giuliano who died in 1478 by the conſpiracy of Pazzi, judging it poſſible ſecurely to continue in Florence, if the government remained in that manner in the hands of the people, and at the free diſcretion of the citizens: wherefore the cardinal came ſometimes into the city, for he had reſided in Prato when the reformation of the ſtate was made in Florence, and took lodgings in St. Antonio del Viſcovo, a place near the city, where he was viſited by a multitude of the citizens under various pretences. There diſcourſing with all concerning the condition of affairs as they happened, he began with great addreſs to repreſent to ſome, that it was neceſſary to think of ſome good method for ſecuring the ſtate

ſtate and his houſe, dwelling only upon general obſervations, and not deſcending to any particulars with thoſe whom he believed to be deſirous of a popular government, but with his more confidential friends, and with thoſe whom he knew to be diſcontented with the new regulation of the government; and, finally, he opened himſelf to a few, ſhewing the neceſſity of a convention and a balia to a ſmall number of citizens, in whom they could confide, who might contract the ſtate to the form in which it ſtood before 1494 in the hands of the family of Medici. After theſe practices held at St. Antonio, the cardinal comes to Florence, reſolved to call a convention, and contract the ſtate: then began thoſe citizens, who may be called the blind, who had been ſo oppoſed to Soderini, to ſee, when it was too late, and they had no longer power to provide a remedy, that danger now was at hand, which they had not been able to diſcern at a diſtance.

On the 16th of September 1513 the convention was aſſembled, the Medici and their friends in arms having ſeized the palace, which had been left without a guard, becauſe Ridolfi, when he entered on his office of gonfalonier, either from a want of jealouſy of the Medici and the viceroy, who was yet with his army at Prato, or for ſome other reaſon, not only had not armed the palace, as, in order to eſtabliſh the new government, it was neceſſary to do, but he had cauſed it to be diſarmed of the few guards which had been ſtationed there by the magiſtrates, after the privation and departure of Sodorini: wherefore it was eaſy for the Medici and their partiſans to ſeize the palace. The ſignori and the gonfalonier, and many other citizens, ſeeing the palace taken, and the abſolute determination of the Medici and their armed followers

lowers to contract the ſtate, and that they could no longer ſupport the popular government, agreed with Giuliano de Medici, who was in council, and had orders from the cardinal what to do. The people were accordingly called together in convention, according to the ancient cuſtom of their parliaments, in the piazzo: the ſignori mounted the roſtrum, and in a balia was created, that is, a full power was given to fifty-five citizens for a year, with the faculty of prolonging it beyond that period according to occurrences, for the convenience and ſupport of the ſtate and the government, and with the faculty moreover of aſſociating to themſelves in the balia ſuch citizens as ſhould be thought uſeful to the ſtate. The firſt thing reſolved on was to add eleven members to their number, making in the whole ſixty-ſix, whoſe names Nerli* has preſerved. The next thing was to make a treaty with the league, and to pay well to obtain the conſent of the Spaniſh army to march out of Prato and the Florentine dominions. An ambaſſador was ſent to accompany the viceroy of Spain, and another, the locum tenens of Maximilian the Emperor. A ſtrong guard was placed in the palace; Ridolfi renounced his office of gonfalonier; all the members of the family of Soderini were taken up and diſperſed about in different confinements. A plan was eſtabliſhed for the appointment of all officers, and the ſum total of power was lodged in Giuliano de Medici, who, however, was to conſult with the cardinal, with Meſſer Giulio, with Lorenzo their nephew, the ſon who remained of Peter de Lorenzo de Medici; but when the new diſtribution of offices took place, freſh diviſions and diſſenſions

* Nerli, p. 116, 117, 118.

aroſe,

aroſe, and ſecret plots were diſcovered, whoſe object was nothing leſs than the aſſaſſination of all the Medici. Among the conſpirators were many powerful citizens. The chiefs of the party were beheaded, and the reſt ſeverely puniſhed. At length the pope, Julius the ſecond, dies, and the cardinals in conclave *, on the ſeventh day unanimouſly elected Giovanni cardinal de Medici, who aſſumed the name of Leo the Tenth, aged thirty-ſeven. This election gave great ſatisfaction to all Chriſtendom; all men expecting, from the recollection of his father's great merit, and from the fame of his own liberality, benevolence, charity and irreproachable morals (ſo ſays the hiſtorian, but his actions diſcover an ambition too powerful for his virtue) that Leo would prove an excellent pontiff, and, from the example of his anceſtors a lover of men of genius and learning. His firſt tranſaction was his coronation, which was performed with ſo pompous an appearance of his family, and all the prelates and nobles from all parts, and ſo great a concourſe of the Roman people, that Rome had never ſeen ſo proud a day ſince the inundation of the barbarians: the ſtandard of the church was carried by Alfonzo, that of the religion of Rhodes by Giulio de Medici, all in armour, and mounted on a noble courſer; for he was by nature inclined to arms, though his deſtiny drew him to the church. Such magnificence confirmed the vulgar in their expectations of happineſs from this pontificate, which was likely to abound in liberality and ſplendor as the expences of that day amounted to an hundred thouſand ducats: but men of better judgments were of opinion, that ſo much pomp neither

* Guicchiardin. lib. ix.—Nerli, lib. vi. p. 124.

became

became a pope, nor was ſuitable to the times, which required more gravity, ſimplicity, and moderation. This exaltation of Giovanni occaſioned great rejoicings in Florence*, for both the friends and enemies of the family were pleaſed, though for different reaſons; the former from the hope of benefits and advantages, and the latter from the expectations of ſecurity, and the univerſal tranquillity of the city, which they thought would ſucceed. There remained, however, a ſecret diſcontent in the hearts of the wife, as may well be imagined, who could foreſee at a diſtance, that ſo much grandeur in one family, who for ſixty years had held in their hands the ſupreme authority of the government, might in time be the means of their return, and enable them to reform the ſtate from a republic to an abſolute principality. Upon this glorious occaſion were liberated from the tower of Volterra, Valori, Folchi, Nicholas Machiavel, and all the others who on account of the late conſpiracy, had been hitherto impriſoned; a conſpiracy which, if no further attempts had been made, and the two who had been beheaded could have been reſtored to life would now have been wholly forgotten. The Sodorini too were all ſet at liberty, becauſe the cardinal of that family had concurred with his vote in the creation of the pope. Cardinal Sodorini had been gained over to this election, by a promiſe of the liberation of his relations, and that Lorenzo di Piero de Medici ſhould marry his niece, the daughter of his brother Giovanvetterio; but this alliance never took effect, becauſe that Alfonſina, mother of Lorenzo, would never conſent to it: to compenſate for which diſappointment, the pope propoſed that the

* Nerli, p. 124.

cardinal's

cardinal's niece ſhould be married to Luſgi Ridolfi, his nephew by a ſiſter, and the cardinal at firſt ſeemed ſatisfied with the exchange, but it afterwards appeared that he took it very ill. A ſplendid embaſſy of twelve honourable and noble citizens was now ſent to the new pope from the city of Florence. In all this grandeur of the houſe, in a few days appeared at Rome Giuliano, Lorenzo, and Giulio de Medici, to conſult with the pope concerning ſeveral of their affairs, and the diviſion of their greatneſs among them: it was finally reſolved, that Giuliano ſhould remain at Rome, with the title of gonfalonier, and captain of the holy ſee; and by means of an alliance which he made with a lady of the blood of Savoy, aunt of the king of France, he ſecured to himſelf the duchy of Nemours, and thus he voluntarily gave up all pretenſions to the government of Florence. Lorenzo contented himſelf with the ſtate of Florence, and ſoon returned to govern it, in the ſame manner and form as his father and his other anceſtors had governed. Giulio was promoted to the archbiſhoprick of Florence vacant by the death of Coſmo de Pazzi, with the proſpect of being made a cardinal at the firſt ſubſequent creation which the pope ſhould make. In this manner, in the beginning of the potificate of Leo, did the Medici divide among themſelves the ſtate, and their own power and emoluments. Lorenzo returned to Florence, and conſulted with the principal citizens about giving orders for reforming the government in all things, according to the intentions of the pope, reſolved on in Rome, to the ſtate it was in before 1494. They were very attentive to haſten on the general ſcrutiny, becauſe of the abſence of ſo many citizens, who for various reaſons had gone to Rome, and after the

creation of the pope were not in haſte to return; and when it was finiſhed, imborſed, and begun to be uſed, a council of ſeventy was made by Lorenzo, for life, in the form and with the authority as in the time of his grandfather in 1482; and orders were alſo given to conſtitute a council of an hundred, which from ſix months to ſix months, according to the ancient cuſtom, ſhould be drawn; and into this council of an hundred, at their pleaſure, might enter all who had been gonfaloniers of juſtice; and in it were debated and determined all proviſions of money, impoſitions of taxes, and all laws and ordinances of moſt importance, which had been previouſly approved in the council of ſeventy: and to enlarge their ſyſtem ſtill more, and make it more univerſally ſatisfactory, they ordained further, to draw from time to time the ancient councils of the people, and the commons, which might determine on the petitions of private perſons, which ſhould be firſt paſſed in the council of ſeventy: and in all caſes which could occur, and for the ſecurity of the ſtate, although they adopted theſe ordinary councils, they maintained always firm the authority of their balia, which was prolonged and maintained conſtantly in being until the revolution in the ſtate, which happened in 1527. The ſcrutiny ended, they created the ſeventy, and drew the other councils, and began to make another change of the ten for war, for the eight of their new plot to return every thing to the ſtate it was in before 1494; and all theſe ordinances there thus renewed and perfected in December 1513, Pandolfo Corbinelli being then gonfalonier: and the ſeventy were elected for a term only, but with ſuch power of confirmation, that they might be ſaid to be for life. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, and the abſolute power

power of the balia, the diviſions ſtill continued among the principal citizens; ſome were for making the government more popular, others more ariſtocratical: and theſe diviſions, which continued till 1527 *, gave much trouble to the Medici.

The affairs of the Medici and of the ſtate being thus ſettled, Giuliano began to think he had been overſeen, in leaving Florence to his nephew: and Lorenzo, amidſt ſuch grandeur in his houſe. begun to be diſcontented at remaining without any princely title, and at having no other than a civil rank in Florence, wherefore he ſhapes his courſe to Rome, and communicates his intention to the pope.

He returned in 1515, determined to be made captain-general of the Florentines; and this dignity was ſolemnly aſſumed by him from the hands of the gonfalonier of juſtice, who was at that time chimenti ſernigi, in the preſence of the ſignori, and of all the magiſtrates, and a great part of the people, aſſembled in the piazza with the ſtaff of command, and the other public enſigns uſually given to a captain-general, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy and univerſal rejoicings. In this manner began Lorenzo to depart from the ancient manners of his family, and to lay aſide in all things that mode of proceeding popularly in his dreſs, converſation, and intercourſe with the citizens, which had ever been obſerved by his predeceſſors. Having aſſumed his title and magnificence, he went to Lombardy, to make his court to the king of France, who was come to Italy to eſtabliſh his authority In Milan, which he

* Erano i cittadini appreſſo a' Medeci molto diviſi, e dettero queſte diviſioni, che ſi mainternnero ſempre ne' primi cittadini del governo, dimolte difficulta a' Medici per inſino al 1527. Nerli, p. 129.

had

had lately recovered. He became a great favourite with his majeſty, from the great deſire he had of agreeing with the pope, and becauſe Lorenzo, in all his actions and converſation, diſcovered an attachment to the faction of the Guelphs and the politics of France. Soon afterwards an accommodation was made between the pope and the king, and the pope ſet out on a journey to Bologna, to have an interview with him. Paſſing through Florence he made his entry into the city* with great pomp. Between the pope and the king many things were agreed on, for their mutual defence, and the maintenance of their power; and Lorenzo, becauſe he eagerly wiſhed to increaſe his importance, and obtain the title of duke, ſolicited the pope, under the auſpices of France, to undertake an enterpriſe againſt Urbino, as it was thought the king could not fail of ſucceſs, the pope having reſtored Parma and Placentia, two cities which Giulio had added to the ſtate of the church when the French loſt the ſtate of Milan. But the project of an enterpriſe againſt Urbino was very diſagreeable to Giuliano de Medici, and he warmly oppoſed it as an infamous ingratitude, conſidering the civilities and favours the family had received in their exile from that dukedom. The pope was adviſed to recal the Bentivogli to Boglogna, and reſtore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but Giulio de Medici, ſays Guicchiardin, cardinal and legate of Bologna, whom the pope had ſent to be a moderator, and counſellor to the unexperienced youth of Lorenzo moved at the infamy that would be caſt on the memory of his legateſhip if Bologna was given

* Con magnifico, apparato, con molta pompa, e con ſolemnita grandiſſima. Nerli, p. 129.

up

up to its old tyrants, and ſo great a number of the nobility, who had openly declared againſt them in favour of the apoſtolic ſee, ſacrified to their revenge, diſſuaded it. Giulio, though of illegitimate birth, had been promoted to the cardinalſhip by Leo, in the firſt month of his pontificate, by means of witneſſes, who preferring the favour of men before the truth, depoſed, that his mother had obtained of his father Giuliano a promiſe of marriage. Giuliano this year came to Florence in ill health, and reſided ſometimes in the city, and ſometimes out of it in the neighbouring cities; not without exciting great jealouſy in Lorenzo, and Alfonſina his mother, who in the abſence of her ſon governed. The pope was in great perplexity, and could not determine whether to undertake the enterpriſe againſt Urbino, ſo much reſiſted by his brother, and ſo ardently deſired by his nephew; and he heſitated the more, becauſe he diſcovered that the king of France had conſented againſt his inclination. Giuliano was ſo ill, that he could not, but by his agents and letters, cenſure the project to the pope, and Lorenzo by his aſſiduous ſolicitations held the king well diſpoſed to his inclinations, and was continually about the pope with perſuaſions to undertake it. The interview between the pope and the king at Bologna being finiſhed, the former returned to Florence, apparently reſolved to give ſatisfaction to his nephew: yet he proceeded to take meaſures for the enterpriſe, on account of Giuliano, with ſome circumſpection. But the diſorder of Giuliano increaſing, he died at Badia de Fieſole, where he reſided for the benefit of better air; in March 1516. A few days after the pope left Florence, and rerurned to Rome.

Lorenzo

Lorenzo now remained, without any contradiction, heir in all things of the ſtate, the fortune, and the grandeur of the houſe of Medici; and being now more than ever warm in his deſire to be made duke of Urbino*, he was inveſted by the pope in conſiſtory: Lorenzo was put in command of an army compoſed of the ſoldiers and ſubjects of the church and the Florentines; and the pope deprived† Franceſco Maria of theſe dominions by ſolemn ſentence, and gave the inveſtiture of the duchy of Urbino, in a conſiſtory, to Lorenzo his nephew, all the cardinals ſetting their hands to the bull.

In the year 1517, certain cardinals formed a conſpiracy againſt the pope, and the cardinal Sodorini was found among the guilty; but upon confeſſion of their error, the pope excuſed them with great humanity: but upon this occaſion. in order to fill up the college, he made a new promotion of cardinals, among whom were his two nephews of the Salviati and Ridolfi families. At this time the citizens of the ſtate of Florence were in ſecret very diſcontented, becauſe that the duke Lorenzo, deſiring to reduce the government to the form of a principality, appeared to diſdain to conſult any longer with the magiſtrates and his fellow citizens as he uſed to do, and gave very ſeldom audiences, and with much impatience, attended leſs to the buſineſs of the city, and cauſed all public affairs to be managed by Meſſer Goro da Piſtoia, his ſecretary, who either following the inclination of his own nature, or becauſe the duke had given him ſuch orders concerning what he ought to do, governed in ſuch a manner, and conducted ſo with the citizens, that there appeared

* Nerli, p. 130. † Guicchiardin, lib. ix.

in

in him more grandeur, and more of the qualities of a prince, and he made himſelf more honoured than any one of the houſe of Medici ever had done in the ſixty years that had paſſed between 1434 and 1494 : and the citizens, who had borne ſo much envy againſt Galleatto de Medici, found, in the example of Goro, reaſon to acknowledge and repent of their error; for Galleatto, who held from the duke Lorenzo the ſame authority, and the ſame employment, before Goro, and was beſides of the family of Medici, did the public buſineſs of the palace, and went in perſon to confer with the citizens, and was ſatisfied with civilly ſerving his patron, and with being more in reality and leſs in appearance. Lorenzo now made a journey to France, having made an alliance with the king. In 1518 he returned with his lady, and the marriage was celebrated with much pomp, rejoicings*, and feſtivity. Many citizens at this time, having diſcovered the inclination of the duke, and that he was determined to reduce the ſtate to the form of a principality, would not conſent to it. Some withdrew themſelves from public affairs, deſpairing of the commonwealth; others confined themſelves to their houſes, under pretence of ſickneſs; but others, having more courage and better ſupport, went to Rome, under the protection of the pope; and the duke, to make the laſt effort to diſpoſe the pope to reduce the ſtate of Florence to a principality, went to finiſh his nuptials at Rome, and carried with him Vettoſi and Strozzi, in whom he confided, and with whom he often conſulted; and after many intrigues with

* Si fecero le nozze ſontuoſiſſime, con molta pompa, allegrezza, e feſta grandiſſima. Nerli, p. 131.

the

the pope, they returned to Florence, determined to reform the ſtate. But in 1519 he died, about ten days after his wife, who however had left him a daughter, who was afterwards queen of France. Goro, and the citizens in his confidence, had ordered ſecretly the piazza to be fortified, and the guards doubled, and had cauſed to be aſſembled in Florence, from various places of the dominion, a good number of their friends and confidential partiſans, to aſſiſt, as occaſion might happen, in the preſervation of the public ſecurity, and in obſerving the conduct of thoſe citizens who had given any cauſe of ſuſpicion; and Antonio di Bettino da Ricoſoli was imborſed gonfalonier. The cardinal de Medici, who arrived two days before the death of the duke, being ſent by the pope to give orders, regulated all things to general ſatisfaction*. After the funeral of the duke, the cardinal entered into intimate conſultations with the principal citizens, and having re-eſtabliſhed the government, according to the form and order which the pope had given to duke Lorenzo; and the cardinal remained, by order of the pope, in the government, to give further ſatisfaction to the citizens, whom he knew to be diſguſted with the proceedings of Goro in the life-time of the duke, and the great authority he had aſſumed, perhaps greater then the duke had given him; and reduced the buſineſs of the magiſtrates, elections, cuſtoms of office, and the mode of expenditure of the public money, in ſuch a manner, that there appeared a very great and univerſal joy among the citizens, and there remained to the cardinal

* Nerli, lib. vii. 133.

no

no other or greater difficulties, than the uſual diviſions among the citizens of the ſtate; ſome of whom contended for enlarging, and others for reſtraining the elections of magiſtrates: wherefore, thoſe who wiſhed the ſtate more contracted, at the head of whom was Ridolfi, oppoſed themſelves to Salviati, who, by order of the pope, was returned to Florence with the cardinal, and he, for contrary reaſons was oppoſed to them; and becauſe the cardinal went on, amuſing ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other party, and ſupporting both, their diviſions were much more apparent at this time, and the heads of each diſcovered themſelves with leſs diſſimulation than they had done in the life-time of the duke: indeed the diſſenſions of the citizens aroſe in all important affairs which the cardinal had to provide for, or to think of, in his government; whereas in the other, in the moſt important affairs they followed that which was ordered daily by the pope without any difficulty. The cardinal ſeems to have diverted the factions from any effectual oppoſition to his government, by playing them one againſt the other, and fomenting their mutual animoſities: for his government was very ſucceſsful and frugal, and money was ſaved in it to pay off the public debts. But the war ſoon followed, of the pope Leo the Tenth, and Charles the Fifth, who had lately ſucceeded Maximilian in the empire, againſt the French. The Cardinal was ſent with his army, as apoſtolical legate, and went into Lombardy, leaving in his place, in the government of Florence, the cardinal di Cortona. The affairs of the pope and emperor ſucceeded proſperouſly againſt the French, who loſt Milan: but the pope, on the laſt of November 1521, died, and finiſhed in the midſt of ſo much grandeur,

the legitimate ſucceſſion of the houſe of Medici, and the male line of the firſt Coſmo, who, by a public decree was called the father of his country, and who, in 1434, had given riſe to the greatneſs of his family.

After the death of the pope, the cardinal ſuddenly departed from Milan, and returned to Florence, where he found that the ſignori had given good orders for the conſervation of the ſtate, and that Franceſco Vettori, who was gonfalonier of juſtice, the cardinal di Cortona, and the principal citizens in the government, had made every proviſion, and taken every precaution which occurred for the benefit and ſafety of the ſtate; and he found too, on ſo great an occaſion, of a ſudden and unexpected death of the pope, a ready inclination in all the principal citizens, and an univerſal deſire among the people to maintain the ſtate in the hands of the cardinal de Medici: and all this felicity aroſe from his good government, which, ſince the death of the duke Lorenzo, had been ſo univerſally agreeable. Conſulting now with the principal citizens, orders were given for defence in the war which Renzo da Ceri, by the favour of the French had excited in Sienna, with a view to change the government in Florence.

This war was fomented by the cardinal Sodorini, and occaſioned a freſh declaration againſt his family, that they were rebels, and involved them in greater calamities than they had ſuffered in 1512. During this war many citizens began to ſpeak, without reſerve, of a more liberal manner of living, and a new reform of the government, and reported publicly, that the cardinal, for want of relations and a legitimate ſucceſſion in his family would be willing, in a certain manner to diſpoſe

diſpoſe of the authority of the balia, and leave the government freely in the people, with a certain authority reſerved to a ſenate for life, to conſiſt of the beſt citizens, and reſerving to himſelf a certain authority and balia in ſome things during his life: and when the principal and moſt ſuſpected perſons in this war were ſecured, although an army was ſtill in Siena, theſe diſcourſes continued and increaſed. Many were ſo eager, and ſo drawn away by their wills and their love of novelty, that they began too ſoon to deſcend to particulars concerning the manner of reforming the government, which they believed and ſaid ought to be undertaken; and they propoſed the mode of electing the gonfalonier of juſtice, and ſome of them would have him for life, as he had been when Sodorini was elected in 1502, and others deſired he might be elected annually, as Ridolfi was in 1512. Such was the zeal of many, deceived by their credulity and the ardent paſſions which tranſported them, that they began to ſpeak more freely of the perſon to be elected, and Acciaioli and Vettori were named, and Gondi; but all agreed at laſt, the better to conciliate the cardinal, to leave for the firſt time the election wholly to him. Theſe practices went ſo far, that the citizens began to be publicly named and diſcriminated, who were in favour of the reformation of the government, and who were againſt it. That party of the citizens who had counſelled the cardinal to a large and comprehenſive diſtribution of honours, and who had ever taken the protection of the generality, appeared, upon theſe converſations of a reform, to give ſome attention to it; and that party which deſired to hold the public offices and honours in fewer families, deteſted and cenſured thoſe who talked of any reformation

at

at all; and the generality of the citizens ſtood neutral, expecting, however, with great deſire, that the reform would take place; and one claſs of young men, and eſpecially thoſe who had concurred in the riſe of Rucellai, ſolicited it, and diſcovered themſelves. In this manner was the whole city divided and confounded; the greater part of the citizens agitated, ſome with hopes and others with fears; and many ventured ſo far as to write various models for ſuch a reformation, even in the preſence of the cardinal: and among theſe ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed themſelves Zanobi Buondelmonti and Nicholas Machiavel; and Nerli ſays he ſaw theſe writings, which were communicated to him by the authors at the time of theſe intrigues. They were alſo communicated to the cardinal, who pretended to hold them in high eſteem *. Alexander de Pazzi compoſed a moſt elegant and beautiful oration, in the name of the people of Florence, in praiſe of the cardinal for the reſtoration of the commonwealth; which Nerli remembers to have heard recited before a large company at a ſupper, where, having obtained a copy, he ſent it to Rome to the cardinal Salviati. Theſe ſpeculations proceeded ſo far and were ſo freely diſcourſed on, and in ſo many ways, that it began to appear to the cardinal that he had permitted them to run too far; an he thought of means to reſtrain them, but found, things had gone ſo much beyond his intentions, ſome difficulty to reſiſt their courſe. But fortune preſented him a convenient opportunity, which was this: There had been formed, at the

* E tutti, ſuoi ſcritti andavanno in mano del cardinale, che moſtrava di tenerne conto, e di farni capitale grandiſſimo. Nerli, lib. vii. p. 137.

time

time of the riſe of Rucellai, a certain ſchool of young men of letters, and of elevated genius, among whom was Coſmo Rucellai, who died very young, though he had excited great expectations among the literati. This ſociety was much frequented by Nicholas Machiavel; and Nerli ſays he was a moſt intimate friend of Machiavel, and had frequent converſations in this club*. Theſe gentlemen not only amuſed themſelves, but made a buſineſs and duty of exerciſing themſelves in the ſtudy of hiſtory, and in making obſervations and reflections upon it. At their requeſt Machiavel compoſed his diſcourſes upon Livy, and his treatiſe of military matters. Theſe perſons went on thinking, by an imitation of the ancients, to effect ſomething that ſhould be grand and noble, and render them illuſtrious. At length they wrought themſelves up to the thoughts of a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal, and did not well conſider what Machiavel in his diſcourſes had written to them on the ſubject of conſpiracies; if they had well conſidered his reflections, they would either not have engaged in the deſign, or, if they had, would have proceeded in it with greater caution. The heads of this plot were Zanobi Boundelmonti and Luigi Allamanni. Their intention was to aſſaſſinate the cardinal de Medici, and thus reduce the city to a free government, and reſtore liberty to the people, as they enjoyed it before 1512. And after the death of Leo the Tenth, they ſent Batiſta della Palla, who was in the conſpiracy with them, to cardinal Sodorini, in order to inform him of their indignation againſt the cardinal, and to perſuade him, as an exile and an enemy of the Medici, to make, with Renzo da Ceri and the

* Guicchiardin, lib. ix.

family

family of the Sodorini, ſuch proviſions as they ſhould judge proper to conduct their deſigns, and to obtain intelligence of the progreſs of this war. But the enterpriſe not ſucceeding with ſignori Renzo as was expected, the plot was firſt ſuſpected, and at length, by degrees, diſcovered by the cardinal and the principal perſons engaged in it were obliged to fly, and were declared rebels, particularly Boundelmonti, Allamanni, Palla, Bruccioli: and others were apprehended and beheaded, by which means the cardinal was again ſecured in the enjoyment of his government, as well as his life, and an end was put to all the vain deſigns and idle diſcourſes of a free government.

In 1422 the cardinal contrived an interview at Leghorn, and at Florence, with Adrian the pope; in conſequence of which cardinal Sodorini was impriſoned in the caſtle at Rome, and prevented from fomenting further deſigns againſt the Medici, and the cardinal de Medici became a great favourite with the pope and the emperor. Having adjuſted with the pope all his affairs, the cardinal gave orders, that Ipolito, a natural ſon of the duke Giuliano, and Alexander a natural ſon of the duke Lorenzo, ſhould be committed to the care of Roſo Ridolfi and Giovanni Coſi, that he might avail himſelf of them, in time, to maintain the reputation and authority of the ſtate in the houſe of Medici, in the ſucceſſion of the firſt Coſmo, who was called the father of his country, in the beſt manner that he could, being determined to exclude the other branch in the deſcendants of his brother Lorenzo. He proceeded, however, in this deliberation with much caution and reſerve, pretending to doubt of the brains as well as heart of Giovanni de Medici, of whom in truth he was jealous; for inſtead of meriting the

contempt

contempt of the cardinal, he had a liberality and a greatneſs of ſoul, which enabled him to acquire the higheſt fame in the military art, which he had purſued from his tender years: in ſhort, according to Nerli, who knew him, he was poſſeſſed of every virtue and quality of a great prince.

In September 1523 pope Adrian died; and, after a long conteſt, in which the cardinals were two months in the conclave, on the 19th of November the cardinal de Medici was created pope, and aſſumed the name of Clement the Seventh, and thus united the ſovereign authority, which he held in Florence, to the extenſive power of the church; upon which happy election, as it was called, there were great external ſigns of joy in Florence, in the fervor of which an event happened remarkable enough to be related:—In the vacancy of the pontificate many wagers had been laid concerning the new election; among many who loſt was Peter Orlandini, who being too importunately ſolicited by the winner to pay, anſwered in great wrath, that he would not pay, until it was determined whether the election had been made canonically or not. Theſe words were reported to the magiſtrates, and, after the importance of them had been conſidered by the cabal, Peter was ſummoned by the eight of the balia, and upon his appearance was ſeized, and beheaded in a few hours.—Soon after the creation of the pope, the Sodorini were reſtored to their country, becauſe, although at firſt their cardinal in conclave had been zealous againſt the Medici, his friends, and particularly the cardinal Colonna, had laboured to reconcile him, and ſucceeded ſo far, that his nephews were reſtored, and he remained afterwards in the good graces of his holineſs. Palla Ruccellai, with nine others, were ſent ambaſſadors

dors to render the uſual homage to the new pope. With theſe ambaſſadors the pope intrigued, as he could no longer govern in Florence, to have one of the two young natural ſons ſent to govern the city. Some among the ambaſſadors, and other Florentines then at Rome, were inclined; others were timorous in diſcloſing their opinions; and ſome of them having notice of the ſecret, and of the will of the pope, and all of them well knowing that the pope had determined, in order to ſatisfy him, and conſtrained by neceſſity rather than ſwayed by any reaſon or inclination, requeſted of his holineſs one of the young men to govern the ſtate of Florence. The pope ſends Hippolito, the ſon of the duke Giuliano, under the guardianſhip of the cardinal di Cortona, becauſe he was yet too young for ſo great a government; and Ottaviano de Medici had the care of the family affairs, and the controul of the houſe and family of the magnificent Hippolito, as he was called, and as his father had been intitled at the time of their exile, and when he had the title of duke of Nemours. Ottaviano was alſo to take the care of Alexander, the ſon of the duke Lorenzo. In this manner were diſpoſed all things relative to the ſtate of Florence and the houſe of Medici; and thus they remained for four years, until 1527, when a general ſcrutiny was made, which was very extenſive, and therefore made with much univerſal ſatisfaction.

In 1524 a civil war broke out in Piſtoia, between the parties called Panciatiche and Cancelliere, and the party Panciatiche prevailing, expelled and baniſhed, as uſual, their adverſaries, and every thing was there ſoon ſettled. The pope did not much interfere in the war in Lombardi, between Charles and Francis, which followed that memo-

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rable defeat of the French before Pavia, when the king was taken priſoner, and conducted to Spain by the emperor. In this tranquillity of foreign affairs, the cardinal di Cortona had, however, enough to do to cement his government, amidſt all their diſcontents, and his own ungrateful manner of treating the citizens; for the beſt friends, as well as others, did not find in the government of the pope that which had been promiſed, nor thoſe conditions and qualities of profit and honour which they reliſhed ſo much in his mode of proceeding and government while he was cardinal: nor could the cardinal di Cortona perceive, until in 1527 it became very manifeſt, how much it imported to the benefit of the ſtate, and the houſe of Medici, that he ſhould ſtudy the character of the citizens, and the pinciples and motives of their diviſions and diſſenſions; eſpecially after the party, the moſt decided in favour of the Medici, and of conſequence the moſt odious to the generality, had been uncommonly weakened by the death of Allemanni, Corbinelli, Serriſtori, and ſome others, the moſt warm in their party, and the moſt jealous of any oppoſition to the preſent government. After them too Ridolfi died; but he, before his death, by an intermarriage with the Strozzi, had been ſomewhat cooled, and dreaded leſs then formerly a change. The other party, on the contrary, were much exalted in their hopes and confidence, as they had increaſed in reputation with the Strozzi, Caponi, and Guicchiardini, who, by their great quality and riches, drew after them a ſtrong band of honourable citizens: with theſe concurred Vettori, being a relation of Capponi, and an intimate friend of Philip Strozzi; and as to the Salviati, although Jacobo was ſhut up in Rome, there remained in Florence the ſons

of Alamano, Averardo, and Piero, the couſins of Capponi and Franceſco Guicchiardini and the relations of Matteo Strozzi. Having accumulated ſo much favour, ſo great abilities, ſuch credit, and ſo many intimate connections this party degan to be as bold as they were active and powerful; and Nicholo Capponi went on with the greateſt reputation increaſing it, diſcovered upon all occaſions ſuch popular principles and feelings, and had acquired ſo much popular benevolence, that thoſe who were deſirous of innovation, and a more liberal government, appeared to have found a ſufficient ſupport, whenever a proper opportunity ſhould occur of changing the government. Theſe cauſes, however, produced no effect while the affairs of the war between the grand princes ſtood in ſuſpence, and unaltered, as they did during the time that the king was priſoner to the emperor in Spain: but after the king had ranſomed himſelf, and recovered his liberty and his kingdom being more determined than ever in his perpetual deſire of recovering the ſtate of Milan, and as it appeared to him, although he had left his ſons as hoſtages in the hands of the emperor, that the conditions of the convention for his liberation were too hard to be obſerved, not being able to compoſe his mind, being at all hazards determined to renew the war, and having found the princes of Italy in the ſame diſpoſition, he agreed with the pope and Venetians, and made with them a league againſt the emperor, in which the pope would have the Florentines named and comprehended. This league commenced the war in Lombardy; and in the army of the church, and for the pope, in place of a legate, and with the title of locum tenens of the holy ſee was Franceſco Guicchiardini; and the comte Guido Rangoni,

goni, then governor of the people of the church, had the general government of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and Giovanni de Medici had the command of the infantry of that part abroad which was commanded by comte Guido; and there occurred in this war between Giovanni and Guido, many diſſenſions: and with the king, in his camp, was the marquis de Saluzzo; and for the Venetians, the duke of Urbino. This war began about the year 1526*. The imperial generals, to divert the pope from the war of Lombardy, invaded Rome itſelf, took the bourg of St. Peter, and plundered the palace of the pope himſelf; who, being beſieged in the caſtle of St. Angelo, was conſtrained to make a convention to his diſadvantage, to ſend Philip Strozzi to Naples as a hoſtage for the ſecurity of the treaty, which, among other conditions, contained a certain ſuſpenſion of arms. But all this ſucceſs of the Imperialiſts could not move the pope from the war. The league ſent Giovanni de Medici to the relief of Rome; but he was killed in a ſkirmiſh which relieved the pope from his jealouſy, though it expoſed his capital to ruin. After the death of Giovanni, thoſe citizens of Florence who deſired an alteration in the government began to to take courage, and diſcover their intentions. They proceeded to found all the citizens whom they thought proper, encouraging them to the enterpriſe; and at the ſame time began the younger nobility to deſire the ſame with thoſe citizens who had encouraged and counſelled them, and to demand of the ſignori and the public, arms, covering their requeſt under a colour of wiſhing by ſuch means to be able to ſerve and

* Nerli, lib. vii. p. 134.

defend

defend their country in ſo great and imminent a danger as appeared in the approach of a large hoſtile army. They deſired to be armed on no other account, and for no other end than merely for the benefit and defence of the city. Veiled under ſuch colours, theſe youths were countenanced by all that party of citizens who deſired to enlarge the government and had taken upon themſelves the univerſal protection of the people. But theſe young men entered principally into an intimate connection with Nicholas Capponi, with whom concurred all the other citizens who deſired to enlarge the government: and therefore, in the council, in the magiſtracy, and in all things, theſe youths were the favourites of Capponi, Strozzi, and Louis Guicchiardini, and they took ſuch courage as to conſult with them in ſecret. Cardinal di Cortona, being, as he commonly was, very ſlow in reſolving, was ill qualified to put a ſtop to this ſecret intelligence, eſpecially as he was obliged to wait for inſtructions from Rome for every meaſure of his conduct. The diviſions among the citizens made him ſtill more timid, which was the reaſon that the ſpirits of theſe youths grew bolder every day. The pope ſent Gherardo Corſini to Florence to alter the fortifications of the city; but this meaſure was very unpopular. The news of the death of Giovanni de Medici threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation; and all theſe circumſtances aided the young men in their deſign.

The people univerſally, the citizens, and the young noblemen, were all become very licentious in ſpeech, very free and bold in expreſſing their conceits, and became very tumultuous and diſorderly, in armed parties in the ſtreets, in the night, affronting the guards and diſturbing the citizens

with

with impunity. At this time the pope ſent cardical Cibo and Ridolfi to aſſiſt cardinal Cortona; but this had little effect.

In 1527 the French army began to turn their march towards Tuſcany, the ſuſpected in Florence began to increaſe, and the youth became more ſyſtematical and ardent than ever in their deſire to be armed; which they now demanded with greater confidence, as Louis Guicchiardin was appointed gonfalonier. Cortona aſſembled in council many citizens, to conſult upon things of ſuch conſequence. Nicholas Capponi began in council with great eloquence, and without reſerve, to ſay, that in treating of things of this importance, which concerned the ſafety of all, it was reaſonable to hold the conſultations in the palace, among a larger number of the citizens, that every one might more freely expreſs his ſentiments. Gherardo Corſini ſpoke in oppoſition to Capponi with ſpirit in favour of the ſtate: and while the principal citizens were engaged in theſe altercations, the two armies were approaching the city. The cardinal and the Magnificent Hippolito intended to ride out to the heads of the league, and to Guicchiardin, the pope's lieutenant, to concert meaſures for ſecuring the affairs of Florence in their preſent critical ſituation. There were in the piazza many circles of young men, who anxiouſly waited for diſturbances; and in the houſe of Peter Salviati was a great rabble of thoſe who, a little time before, had been concerned in thoſe nocturnal tumults which had been excited; the ſervants of the guard of the lieutenant of police; and within, with the gonfalonier, were thoſe chiefs, who at firſt, with more order and better counſel, had always managed thoſe intrigues which were called the petitions for

for arms; and already in the palace were Niccolas Capponi, Mathew Strozzi, and Francis Vettori, to countenance the youths, and contrive that whatever might happen might follow in ſome order. But fortune, who had otherwiſe determined, cauſed to be ſpread an idle and falſe report, that the cardinal and Hippolito were gone, and had abandoned the ſtate, as not knowing how to maintain it any longer; and as theſe reports prevailed, there ſuddenly aroſe in the piazza a confuſed rumour, and they bawled out the name of Liberty! the People! and the palace on a ſudden was filled with citizens, youths, arms, and confuſion; and many began, as if they had already conquered, to lay hands on the ſignori; and thoſe citizens were threatened who did not ſay and do as this orderly multitude deſired. The more prudent ſort of perſons, elder and younger endeavoured to preſerve ſome order, and propoſed various judicious plans; but the uproar was too great, and violence had got poſſeſſion. The detail of the errors and diſorders is too long to be recited; but nothing would content them ſhort of a declaration that the Medici were rebels, and the ſignori were compelled to this meaſure. Even Niccolas Capponi, and his colleagues, who were preſent amidſt ſuch diſorders in the palace, repented of the fallacy they had practiſed that day, and perceived that ſtates, which attempt to change the foundations of their government by means of popular tumults, though they may ſometimes eaſily effect the alteration, will always find it difficult either to ſtop or to regulate the movements of the people, of which important truth the hiſtory of Florence is full of fatal examples. The cardinal and Hippolito, receiving intelligence of the tumults in Florence,

returned

returned with Francis Guicchiardin, and ſome other reſpectable characters, and a military force; made an accommodation with the rioters, and reſtored the government of the Medici; made a new imborſation of the ſignori, and imborſed as gonfalonier, in 1327, Franceſcantonio Nori, and changed ſome of the ſignori for perſons leſs ſuſpected, and took every prudent meaſure to ſecure the peace of the city. But ſuch was the danger, that many abſented themſelves from the city through fear, not believing that the pope would pardon their behaviour. The city was in great confuſion, ſuſpicion, and diſſatisfaction: at this time the army turned towards Rome, which on the 6th of May 1527 was ſacked by the French in their turn, and the pope was again ſhut up a priſoner in the caſtle. Philip Strozzi flew to Florence with the news of the ruin of the pope, and began to promote a change in the government; and his lady Clariſſa*, the daughter of Peter de Medici, ſiſter of the duke Lorenzo, very gravely and boldly ſaid to the cardinal Cortona and Hippolito, that they ought to fly from Florence, and leave the city and republic free to the citizens.

* See her ſpeech at length in Segni, p. 8. Biſognova prima, che in tali termini ſi faſſino conootte le coſe, governarſi co' cittadini di maniera, che ne' pericoli, e nelle ſtrettezze, voſtre vi ſi aveſſono a mantenere amici, e in fede, ſiccomme ne' paſſati tempi ſi governarono gli antichi miei, che colla gentilezza, e colla benevolenza piu che coll' aſprezza, e col timore, ſi mantenavano fedeli gli animi de' cittadini Florentini, e poi in molto loro avverſi tempi gli ritrovarono coſtanti; ma voi, che coll' uſanze del viver voſtro avete, ancora a chi nol ſapeſſe, ſcoperto i voſtri natali, e fatto chiarro a tuto 'l mondo che non ſiete del ſangue de Medici (a non pure di voi intendo, ma ancora di Clemente indegnamente papa, e degnamente prigione) che vi maravigliate voi, ſe ſette oggi in queſti travagli, ne' quali avete tutta queſta città contraria alla voſtra grandezza?

Upon

Upon this return of Strozzi, and in this ruin of the pope, Niccolas Capponi, Mathew Strozzi, and Francis Vettori, and all that party of citizens who had been humbled by the diſorders of the 26th of April, and the other party, who were in the confidence and league of the Medici, ſeeing the pope ruined and a priſoner, and no hope of aſſiſtance, gave way to fortune; ſome through fear, and others from hopes which were held out to them by thoſe citizens who deſired a change in the ſtate, and the ruin of the Medici. Cardinal Cortona, finding himſelf in ſuch affliction, and without any aſſignment of money, becauſe Philip Strozzi, who was at that time depoſitory of the ſignori, ſent out of Florence Franceſco del Nero, his deputy, with all the money which had been collected, a movement which was the moſt artful check in the whole game, made a certain capitulation between the city and the Medici, and went out of Florence with cardinal Cibo and the Magnificent Hippolito, on the 17th of May 1527, without being baniſhed, and having the ſignori ſtill in their favour, who ſtood firm to the government and the houſe of Medici to the laſt. After their departure the capitulation was not obſerved, and cardinal Ridolfi, who remained in Florence, was conſtrained to depart: and in a ſhort time a popular government was introduced, ſo large and licentious that Philip Strozzi, and all thoſe citizens who had ſuch an inclination to the change, and who were the heads and chiefs of the plan of reſtoring the ſtate to the people, were ſoon treated in ſuch an injurious manner, and in ſo many ways inſulted, that thoſe who incline to weep over the follies and vices of their fellow men, will have incitements enough for their tears in reading the ſtory. The hiſtory of Segni, which was intended

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to record the tranſactions of the republic or popular ſtate from 1527 to 1530, begins with the eighth book of Nerli, and contains a circumſtantial relation of every particular; and this ſame Segni has written the life of his uncle Niccolo Cappoui. Varchi too begins his hiſtory about the ſame time: ſo that this period is well deſcribed by a variety of hiſtorians.

After the reſolution taken by the cardinal di Cortona, and the principal citizens in the government to reſign the authority of the balia, and to leave the ſtate by agreement liberally into the hands of the people, the balia aſſembled on the 16th of May 1527, and the proviſion, by which liberty was reſtored to the people, and the government wholly conferred upon them, by the total annihilation of the balia, was received with great joy. But that, in ſo great a revolution, they might proceed without ſcandal, and that they might ordain a government, free, pacific, and quiet, as, perhaps, thoſe citizens had flattered themſelves they might do who were the principal authors of the change, and had been ſo zealous for it, although very different effects followed, as it generally happens to thoſe who place themſelves at the head of the people, and are the inſtruments of changing a government; they began by giving order and form to the government, that is, by taking the power into their own hands, inſtead of giving it up to the people: they gave authority to the ſignori, the colleges, and the council of ſeventy, and to the members of the balia, to make, as well as they could, a deputation of thirty citizens for each quarter, giving a convenient ſhare to the minor arts, according to the claſſes at that time in the city; and they ordered that ſuch deputation ſhould be made by ballot, among the ſignori, council,

magiſtrates, and the thirty for the quarters, who thus ballotted for by the greateſt popular favour, or, in other words, who had the moſt black votes, ſhould be underſtood to be elected; to which number of one hundred and twenty citizens, together with the ſaid magiſtrates and counſellors, ſhould be given full authority to elect all officers, meaning ſuch as had been uſually made by the council of an hundred, until the 20th of June. All other officers were to be drawn from the ordinary purſes till the ſame 20th of June; after which day it was determined that the council of the people, called the greater* council, ſhould commence its authority: this greater council was determined to have the ſame authority, modes, orders, and forms, which it had before 1312, but with certain limitations and corrections. The new council of ſignori collegi were to be 120, the ſupernumeraries ſeventy, and the balia of twenty, to whom were given authority concerning the mode of making the new gonfalonier, and the council of eighty was revived in the ſame form as before 1512: then, in the abundance of their gratitude to the Medici, for permitting the popular government to be revived, they paſſed an indemnity to them and all their agents, and forgave Hippolito, Alexander, and and the ducheſs daughter of Lorenzo late duke of Urbino. At laſt the old balia was annulled; but the new government had ſcarcely aſſembled, before freſh diſſenſions aroſe†: ſome would not obſerve at all the laws made as now related, eſpecially relative to the

* Conſiglio maggiore.

† Dopo queſti ordini coſi date, cominciarono molti cittadini a dividerſi in molti modi, e ſi ſcoperſero molte varie ſette et molte varie ſeditioni. Nerli, lib. viii. p. 155.

greater

greater council; but many, without waiting for the term preſcribed, would begin by aſſembling this council, and acting in it; and ſome were even for beginning tumultuouſly, and without waiting for any limitations or corrections, and without regarding this law in any degree. Many others were for removing before the time the ſignori by force, though, by the law, they were to continue the month of June; and becauſe the proviſion or law made by the balia for reſtoring peaceably the ſtate to the people was not obſerved, as indeed it was not, and becauſe the conceſſion and promiſe made by the Medici was not ſtrictly regarded, it was given out that they were returning with force to recover the ſtate which they had voluntarily quitted, and which was not taken from them by force, as many had vainly endeavoured a few days before and many falſe rumours were created, propagated, and exaggerated, to terrify and confound the contending parties. Theſe at laſt divided themſelves into two principal factions: the Strozzi, Sodorini, &c. were the heads of one, and Niccolo Capponi of the other. They had a long ſtruggle to make the gonfalonier reſign, and get poſſeſſion of the palace. The greater council was brought into being and action before the time, and many other alterations were made about the choice of magiſtrates; but a tumult in the palace, with all the perſuaſions of Capponi, was at laſt ſufficient to prevail upon the gonfalonier to reſign. A new gonfalonier is now to be choſen, and new regulations are contrived for the election, and, among a multitude of candidates, Niccolo Capponi is choſen.

Niccolo Capponi had great qualities; but theſe alone were not the cauſe of his elevation; it was indeed the ſecret influence of the Medici intereſt which

which decided the election in his favour. This was a very memorable example of electioneering, and resembles in so many of its outlines all other elections in general, that it enters into the essence of every government in one centre, and is very interesting to every free citizen to consider it attentively. Sixty electors were drawn out of the purse of the grand council, each of whom was to nominate a citizen of fifty years of age; and among these sixty were to be balloted for, in the greater council, six candidates for the office of gonfalonier. The six who upon this occasion had the most votes, were Carducci, Sodorini, A. Strozzi, Nero, Bartolini, and Niccolo Capponi. Each of these candidates had his distinct principles, system, and party. For Carducci were all that part of the citizens who most dreaded and hated the Medici, who wished for a licentious government, by means of which they could be revenged, by beating down every citizen, who, under the government of the Medici, had any reputation, influence, or power. In Strozzi concurred a part of the same citizens, for the same reasons, but their ardor for him was cooled by the recollection of the part he had formerly acted against Savanarola in 1498. In Sodorini concurred all those citizens who loved a government both free and quiet, such as that which prevailed from 1502 to 1512, when Peter Sodorini was gonfalonier for life. The party of Medici were united to a man against him; with all other parties he was upon tolerable terms; and this is not only natural, but it is universally found in experience, that the monarchical party is most averse, in such conjunctures, to the aristocratical, and generally coalesces with the democratical, as these did upon this occasion in the choice of Capponi. The partisans

partiſans of Nero and Bartolini were thoſe only who hated all men who had ever held any place in government, and wiſhed for ſuch as were entirely new. Amidſt ſo many competitors, and ſuch a variety of parties and views, Capponi was elected, though he had held offices of high truſt and confidence under the Medici. He had in the whole courſe of his life, public and private, been a wiſe, liberal and irreproachable citizen; the reputation of his father and his anceſtors had early rendered him illuſtrious: he had as much reſolution as he had ambition, and had maintained the character of an honeſt man with all; that of a free republican with the popular party, and that of a man of honour and fidelity with the Medici themſelves, who unanimouſly fell in with his views in the election; Naturam expellas furca, licet uſque recurret. The dominant party will, in general; in this manner prevail, though their leaders are in baniſhment, and even though excluded by law. Capponi had married a daughter of Philip Strozzi, and this union of their families, and even the diverſity of their characters*, had contributed to increaſe the influence of the former. After the election of the gonfalonier,

* L'integrità della vita, la temperanza, la ſeverità, la parſimonia in allevar la famiglia ſerono reſplendere Niccolo ſopra d'ogni' altro per dignità, e per un vivo eſempio di virtu: quando in Filippo un modo di vivere ſciolto, l'incontinenza, la piacevolezza, la grazia, la deſtrezza nel trattenere gli nomini, la liberalta, la licenza, la conceſſione di ſe ſteſſo fatta ora alla virtu, ora al vizio, ebbe forza di farlo amar ſempre dalla gioventu, riverire dalla nobilta e accarezzare dal popolo, di tal maniera, che febbene viveva in privata fortuna, era nondimeno come un principe. Varchi, lib. iii. p. 63. Segni Storie, lib. i. p. 12. Vita di Niccolo Capponi, p. 2.

they

they proceeded to the choice of the ſignori for three months. Thus the party of Capponi carried their point, and accompliſhed all this weighty buſineſs by the firſt of June, againſt the regulation that the old ſignori ſhould continue through the month.—One of the firſt ſteps taken under the new government, was an appointment, by a plurality of votes in the greater council, of five citizens, under the title of ſyndics of the commons, to examine the accounts of all thoſe who had handled the public money, or other property, from the year 1512. This was all invention of revenge and jealouſy, to deſtroy all the friends and inſtruments of the Medici: and many other ſchemes of perſecution againſt the party of Medici were contrived without the ſmalleſt diſcretion, and in ſpite of all the endeavours of Capponi and Philip Strozzi to prevent them. Among other ſchemes of perſecution, the moſt tyrannical imaginable, which this dominant party, now triumphant, practiſed againſt the minor party, was, at a time when a ſum of money (30,000 crowns was) wanted by the public, they made a law, that twenty citizens ſhould be *elected*, who ſhould be compelled to lend the public fifteen thouſand crowns each. Such is the ſenſe of liberty, and the ſacred regard to property, in a government in one centre! This popular tyranny was carried to an exceſs ſo intolerable, that Philip Strozzi, the very father of the revolution, was obliged to fly to Naples, though his brother-in-law was gonfalonier: but returning ſome time after with Boundelmonti, they were both impriſoned for four years in the tower of Volterra, for making oppoſition to the new iniquitous taxes, and the adminiſtration of the ſyndics. Acciaioli too,

too, who was then returned from his embaſſy in France, was impriſoned for being in arrear for part of a ſubſidy, which they had impoſed upon him, not only without equity, but beyond his ability. The gonfalonier could make no reſiſtance to this popular fury, which had now got the aſcendant; the great council, and their three months men the ſignori, governed without controul; and becauſe they could not glut their vengeance upon the perſons of the Medici, they took the images in wax of the popes Leo the Tenth, and Clement the Seventh, and ſcourged and deſtroyed them; and the magiſtrates themſelves were ſuppoſed to have excited the youths who were guilty of this outrage, ſo indecent in a catholic city; at leaſt no meaſures were taken to ſuppreſs or to puniſh the rioters. An order was given by the magiſtrate, the eight of the balia, that the arms and enſigns of the Medici ſhould be taken down in every place in the city and country, public and private, even in the private houſes of the family, even from the monuments over their tombs. All this was done, and many other invaſions of their private property committed, in direct contempt of the capitulation made with cardinal Cortona and the Magnificent Hippolito, when they reſigned the authority of the balia, and voluntarily left the ſtate to the people. It is aſtoniſhing that the people themſelves ſhould not have recollected, that this courage had come into their hearts only from the preſent calamity of the pope, which might ſoon be at an end, and themſelves made to feel the conſequences of their preſent folly; but in ſuch a tumult of popular paſſions there is never any reflection, prudence, or foreſight. All theſe things happened in the firſt months of the new government, while the pope was in the power of the

the imperialiſts, a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The plague was now in Florence, and it was difficult to aſſemble the councils, eſpecially the greater council; a law was therefore made that for the creation of officers, and the expedition of private petitions, the number of the greater council neceſſary to be preſent ſhould be only four hundred; but for the creation of the ſignori, the colleges, the ten of war, and the eight of the balia, the number of eight hundred muſt be full, as well as at the paſſing of the new laws, and the impoſition of new taxes.

In December the pope accommodated his affairs with the emperor, obtained his liberty, and retired to Orvieto for his greater ſecurity. This event increaſed the number of opponents to the preſent government in Florence, and brought again into reputation thoſe who had enjoyed it under the Medici. Two factions now broke out in the city. The rivals of Capponi began to raiſe their heads; and endeavoured to render unpopular not only the friends of the Medici but Capponi, and all thoſe who had endeavoured to unite all parties for the general tranquility. Carducci, A. Strozzi,, and Sodorini, now formed a triumvirate, at the head of one faction, againſt Capponi and his adherents; and the young men and more active partiſans of each ſide armed themſelves, both under the pretence of defending the palace. This guard, thus compoſed of two parties, could not be united, and gave much trouble to the gonfalonier. The pope at this time made Hippolito a cardinal. A ſatirical libel was compoſed, printed at Siena, and ſcattered all over Florence, in which a picture was drawn of ſuch a gonfalonier as would be ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture; but it was in all things

things oppoſite to the character of Capponi, and very much reſembled Carducci. This device excited much licentious converſation in the city againſt Capponi, and many projects of a new gonfalonier at the approaching election. Theſe canvaſſings drove Capponi to a curious expedient to obtain his election. He had always maintained a good character with the friends of Savanarola the prophet, and in this time of the plague all men were ſeriouſly inclined, and the ſuperſtitious began again to be frantic. Niccolo took an opportunity, in the greater council, to make an oration upon the times, in which, by the aid of a retentive memory, he repeated, almoſt word by word, one of the moſt terrible ſermons of Savanarola, which predicted ſo many ſcourges to Italy and to Florence, and, after ſo much deſtruction, ſuch felicity to the Florentine people; and endeavoured to ſhew, that the times thus predicted were arrived. In the courſe of his harangue he wrought himſelf up to a fervour of enthuſiaſm, fell upon his knees before the whole aſſembly, and cried with a loud voice to God Almighty for mercy. His enthuſiaſm ſpread like a contagion, and the whole aſſembly fell upon their knees after his example, and cried out with a voice like thunder, "Miſeracordia!" as they had been uſed ſometimes to do, when attending ſome of the moſt dreadful of Savanarola's lectures; and to complete his artifice, or his frenſy, he perſuaded the people, in commemoration of the tribulations, chaſtiſements, and judgments of God, and the better to ſecure the felicity promiſed by Savanarola, that they ought to elect, for the peculiar king of the people of Florence, Jeſus the Redeemer, and as Savanarola had ſaid in ſome of his ſermons that they ought to bear the enſigns

of Chriſt, and the glorious name of Jeſus, over the gates of the palace. The propoſition was made in council, as ſoon as the gonfalonier had finiſhed his oration, that Chriſt ſhould be their king, becauſe, according to St. Paul, God had conſtituted him heir of all things; and Nerli, who ſays he was preſent among ſo many hundreds of citizens, declares that there were not more then twenty* white beans or votes, againſt the propoſition, when it was determined by ballot. Capponi, by this proceeding, made ſuch an impreſſion upon all orders, and gained ſo many partiſans, that, notwithſtanding all the combinations of the families of his competitors, he carried his election in June 1528.

In 1528 began to be diſcovered, for they were no longer capable of diſſimulation, the pope's profound projects†, hitherto concealed with great art. An ardent deſire of reſtoring to his family their grandeur in Florence was deeply rankling in his mind; yet, by an hypocriſy, too natural to that as well as every other kind of ambition, he endeavoured by public declarations, in the moſt unequivocal terms to perſuade the Florentines that nothing was further from his thoughts; that he only deſired the republic to acknowledge him as pontiff, as all other princes and ſovereigns had done, and that they would not perſecute

* Ultimamente fece paſſare una proviſione, nel conſiglio grande, ſopra di tutte l'altre notabiliſſima in queſto genero di dietà, per la quale fu eletto Geſu Chriſto ſignor noſtro per re della citta noſtra, con tutti i ſuffrage di quel popolo, eccetto che di 26, che tal decreto non approvarono. Era 'l tirolo di queſta legge ſcritto ſopra la porta del palazzo de ſignori, in lettere d'oro, che dichevano G. H. S. X. P. S. Rex populi Flor. S. P. Q. F. Conſenſu declaratus anno, menſe die. Varchi p. 122. Signi vita di Capponi, p. 10.

† Guicchiardini, lib. xix. Nerli. lib. viii. p 172.

in

in their private affairs his connections, nor take away the enſigns and ornaments which belonged to his family. With a commiſſion to this purpoſe he had ſent a Florentine prelate as his ambaſſador to Florence; but as he had not obtained an audience, he ſolicited, through the medium of the king of France, that they would ſend an embaſſy to him, earneſtly endeavouring to remove all their ſuſpicions, and by all appearances of candour, frankneſs, and familiarity in his dealings with them, to diſpoſe them to fall in with his inſidious deſigns. As all theſe devices proved unſucceſsful, he exerted himſelf to perſuade Lautrech, that as thoſe who governed in Siena were dependents on the emperor, it would be uſeful to his affairs to reſtore Fabio Petrucci to that city; but Lautrech, from the oppoſition of the Florentines, would not engage in it. Failing in this way, he laboured in ſecret with Pirro, who complained of grievances againſt the Seneſe, that with eight hundred men, and ſome exiles from Chiuſi, he ſhould ſeize upon that territory, and endeavour by that means to govern Siena; but the Florentines inſinuating to the French ambaſſador, the viſcount de Turenne, that the pope aimed at nothing but diſturbing Florence by the means of Siena, the ambaſſador perſuaded him to give up the movement to Chiuſi.

Copponi, the gonfalonier, held at this time* with the pope a correſpondence, by means of Jacobo Salvati, by which the pope intended in time, and with patience, to overcome all difficulties, and obtain the reſtoration of his family; but the gonfalonier intended only to amuſe the pope,

* Nerli, p. 172, 173,

and

and prevent him from undertaking any enterpriſe againſt the city with force. Thus both parties hoped to gain the advantage of time. Capponi gave hopes to the pope, that the city might be diſpoſed to agree with him, as they had been uſed to do with other pontiffs, provided his holineſs would content himſelf to leave it in the quiet enjoyment of its liberty. This correſpondence, though conducted with ſecrecy to avoid ſuſpicion, was communicated, however, to ſeveral of the firſt citizens in the government. Jacobo Alamanni, though he knew the correſpondence was conducted with the privity of the government and for the good of the ſtate, was excited by the competitors of the gonfalonier to ſeize with violence Serragli, who had been ſent by Salviati upon the buſineſs, and a great clamour was excited againſt the gonfalonier: freſh libels were publiſhed, and old ones reprinted; the young men were again excited tumultuouſly to demand arms, enſigns, and officers, to be elected by themſelves: and the triumvirate prevailed ſo far as to have a new ordinance for the militia, by which an imborſation ſhould be made of the young ſoldiers, and from time to time a number drawn, to keep the guard of the palace. This was no better than making the government priſoners to the oppoſition. Alamanni at length proceeded to ſuch violence, tumult, and outrage againſt the gonfalonier, that the ſignori, who by the greater council were authorized to defend the palace, were obliged, in order to ſuppreſs this armed ſedition, to order him to be ſeized: he attempted to fly but was made priſoner condemned, and beheaded. This puniſhment excited freſh clamours againſt the gonfalonier eſpecially among the

the young ſoldiers, who now reproached their own leaders, the triumvirate, for having concurred in the ſentence, although they had ſtimulated under-hand the offence. Perhaps to remove Carducci and Strozzi out of the way of giving further diſturbance to the government, the firſt was appointed ambaſſador to France, and the ſecond to Venice. Both declined the employment; but as the laws would not permit any citizen to renounce an embaſſy without alledging juſt impediments, to be approved by the ſignori and colleges, they applied to be excuſed, but their reaſons were not admitted, and they fell under the puniſhment of admonition and other heavy penalties. Their arguments before the ſignori and colleges only ſerved to divide ſtill more and diſtract the public councils. Carducci at laſt went to France much againſt his will, but Strozzi was condemned and admoniſhed; and this again alienated many friends from the gonfalonier, and weakened ſtill further his party. But many grew weary of the endleſs confuſions and anxieties ariſing from this government in one centre, and that centre the nation. Thoſe who had been in reputation in the time of the Medici began to recover credit, and the faction of the triumvirate loſt ground. The young men too were divided, ſome warmly attached to the gonfalonier, and others as zealous againſt him, eſpecially thoſe who reſented the puniſhment of Alamanni. The gonfalonier, truſting to a good conſcience and upright intentions, proceeded in his negociations with the pope, with the participation of his principal colleagues in government; and this he thought the more neceſſary, ſince the ruin of the French army near Naples made him ſuſpect that the pope would reconcile

reconcile himſelf with the emperor; and indeed the pope at this time*, under a countenance of exquiſite diſſimulation, had all his thoughts taken up with the recovery of the government of Florence, ſtill amuſing the French ambaſſadors and the other confederates with various negociations, and ſpecious hopes of his adhering to the league. Nevertheleſs, moved partly by the dread of the grandeur of the emperor, and the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes, and partly by the hopes of inducing him more eaſily than he could the king of France to aſſiſt him in the reſtoration of his family to Florence, he had a ſtronger inclination to the emperor than to the king: to facilitate this deſign, he moreover moſt earneſtly deſired to draw to his devotion the ſtate of Perugia; to which end he was believed to have ſtimulated Braccio Baglione, who conſtantly attempted new diſturbances in that neighbourhood.

In this conjuncture a freſh altercation happened in Florence, to the great misfortune of the government †, againſt Capponi, at the end of the ſecond year of his magiſtracy, excited principally by the envy of ſome of the principal citizens, who availed themſelves of the jealouſies and ignorance of the multitude. The gonfalonier in all his adminiſtration, as well as in this correſpondence, had two principal points in view; to defend againſt freſh attacks of envy or reſentment thoſe who had been placed in honour by the Medici, and even to communicate to them, in common with the other citizens, the honours and councils of the public; and in things of no moment to liberty, not to exaſperate the ſpirit of the pope. Theſe

* Guicchiardini, lib. xix. p. 170, edit. Venet. 1574. Nerli, p. 179.
† Guicchiardini, lib. xix. Nerli, p. 179.

points

points were both of great utility to the republic; becauſe many of thoſe who had been perſecuted as enemies of the government, finding themſelves in ſafety, would have joined heartily with the others to defend it; and becauſe the pontiff, though he eagerly deſired the return of his family, would, if no freſh provocations were given him, have leſs incitements to precipitation, and leſs grounds for thoſe complaints he was continually making to other princes. But to this policy was oppoſed the ambition of many, who knowing that they ſhould be farther from a ſhare in the government, or have leſs influence in it, if the friends of the Medici, men undoubtedly of more experience and merit, were in it, minded no other buſineſs than that of filling the multitude with ſuſpicions of the pope and his party; calumniating the gonfalonier, that he might not obtain the prolongation of his magiſtracy for the third year, as not having a ſufficient hatred againſt the Medici. Capponi, unmoved at theſe ſlanders, and thinking it very neceſſary that the pope ſhould not be provoked, entertained him with letters and private meſſages, as before related; a practice which was begun and continued with the knowledge and approbation of the principal citizens in adminiſtration, and with no other end than to divert the pope from taking ſome violent meaſures. As fortune would have it, having dropped by accident and incautiouſly in the council-chamber a letter from Rome, in which were ſome words capable of exciting ſuſpicion in ſuch as were uninformed of the original and foundation of the correſpondence, it fell into the hands of Jacobo Gherardi, one of thoſe who had ſeats in the ſupreme council, and were moſt bitter againſt the gonfalonier; certain ſeditious young men roſe in arms and ſeized the palace, retaining the gonfalonier

nier in cuſtody, and calling together the magiſtrates and a multitude of citizens, tumultuouſly deliberated and reſolved that he ſhould be deprived of his office * ; which deciſion was confirmed by the larger council. Capponi was rendered incapable ; and it was ordained that the gonfalonier ſhould be for the future but for one year, and that his ſalary ſhould be reduced one half. The oppoſition of the triumvirate had ſo turned the brains of the people by their intrigues, that a great change was made in the government; and Franceſco Carducci, a man proved by his paſt life, by his condition and his depraved views, to be unworthy of ſo great an honour, was choſen in his place. Capponi, was brought to his trial, and defended himſelf with ſuch eloquence and ability, and ſhewed ſo clearly that his conduct, inſtead of being criminal, had been dictated by the principal perſons in government, and merely for the public good, that he was acquitted with honour, and accompanied home to his palace by almoſt all the nobility. Upon the privation of Capponi, the pope no longer entertaining any hopes but from force, ſent the archbiſhop of Capua in great haſte to the emperor, and, as Capponi had foreſeen, agrees to almoſt any terms that were demanded of him, in conſideration of having his family reſtored to Florence, and a natural daughter of the emperor giving in marriage to his nephew Alexander de Medici, the ſon of Lorenzo late duke of Urbino, whom the pope intended to inveſt with the ſecular grandeur of his houſe, becauſe that ſome time before, when he was ſick and in danger of death, he had made Hippolito, the ſon of Giuliano, a cardinal. The emperor ſtipulated to give twenty thou-

* Guicchiardini. lib. xix. Nerli, p. 180.

ſand

ſand ducats a year with his daughter, and to reinſtate the pope in the poſſeſſion of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera. And thus, by their continual factions and diviſions, the citizens of Florence found they had diſguſted both the king of France and the emperor: and thus it uſually happens when ſmall republics and petty princes intermeddle in the wars of great monarchs; the one in alliance thinks himſelf ill ſerved, while the other who is in enmity is moſt grievouſly offended, and vows revenge*.

The particulars of the negociation at Cambray; the contradictory repreſentations of their two ambaſſadors, Carducci and Cavalcanti, who were of different parties; the propoſitions of an accommodation with the emperor, made by the prince Doria through Louis Allamanni, and the rejection of them by the influence of Franciſco Carducci, the new gonfalonier, and thoſe citizens who were moſt jealous of the Medici and their party; are too tedious to relate, though they were rejected, and conſequently the republic ruined, by the confuſed method of treating of foreign affairs in a numerous and mixed aſſembly, according to the new conſtitution. The emperor now arrives in perſon from Spain, and all the ſtates of Italy ſent ambaſſadors to pay him their reſpects, except Florence. The triumvirate, with their new gonfalonier, were afraid that either ſome of the old friends of the Medici, or ſome of the friends of Capponi, who was at the head of the middle or neutral party, as it was called, would be ſent, and by this means come again into reputation; to prevent which they not only riſked the emperor's reſentment, but deprived themſelves of the means of

* Nerli. p. 184.

obtaining intelligence of any intrigue that might be begun between the pope and him. They ſet on foot, however, in order, as it was pretended, to unite the citizens, a ſubſcription and an oath, to maintain the preſent popular government: but although the ſubſcription was publicly opened in a book in the greater council, many reſpectable citizens would not ſubſcribe, as they knew it to be impoſſible to unite the citizens cordially in ſuch a plan. The animoſities of party grew warmer, and Pazzi, a friend of Capponi, of a very reſpectable character, was accuſed of uttering ſeditious words. The proſecution occaſioned great heat; Pazzi was tried and acquitted, and Rinieri would have been impriſoned for his falſe accuſation, if the gonfalonier and his party had not ſcreened him from juſtice. In this manner did the gonfalonier, to increaſe his authority, and to make himſelf feared, ſeek every opportunity, and employ every means, to depreſs his adverſaries; and if he had ſucceeded againſt Pazzi, he had intended to have purſued others with ſtill greater animoſity.

About the middle of Auguſt the emperor arrives in Genoa, and all the reſt of Italy ſending him ambaſſadors, a freſh effort was made in Florence; and, as it could not now be prevented, the gonfalonier conceived another device to defeat it. He prevailed to have the powers and inſtructions ſo confined, eſpecially againſt agreeing with the pope, that they could obtain no other anſwer from the emperor than, "Firſt accommodate your affairs with his holineſs." But this was not all the evil: in ſuch governments nothing can be done, with any degree of ſatisfaction to the public, but by gratifying every party; if one clamorous faction is left to excite a cry, all is confuſion. Upon this occaſion four ambaſſadors had been appointed

ed, Strozzi, Capponi, Sodorini, and Girolami, who could no more agree among themſelves than with the emperor or the pope. They could never agree in writing their diſpatches. Sodorini and Girolami, to maintain their city in the French intereſt, and in its obſtinacy not to agree with the pope in any manner, would not concur with Strozzi and Capponi in writing clearly and plainly what the emperor had ſaid to them. In September the united armies of the pope and the emperor reſolved on taking poſſeſſion of Perugia, and the pope gave notice to Malateſta Baglioni to depart from that city. Malateſta demands of Florence men and money to defend it. In order to give the moſt pointed offence to the pope, and to make their defiance the more conſpicuous, they affected to extend it not only to his perſon but to the pontifical ſee. They reſolved in Florence to ſend three thouſand men to the aid of Malateſta, to prevent the church from recovering one of its principal territories; but with all this aſſiſtance, Malateſta was driven out Perugia, and marched to Florence, in conſequence of an order from the gonfalonier, without the knowledge of the ſignori or council of ten, and againſt their judgments, as well as the general ſenſe of the citizens, who almoſt unanimouſly deſired an accommodation with the pope. A clamour now aroſe againſt the gonfalonier and his friends, which obliged them to call to council many citizens of the other parties, whom they had long neglected, who carried a reſolution to ſend other ambaſſadors to the pope with more ample powers of accomodation. But the gonfalonier had ſubtilty enough to defeat this reſolution, although it had been taken with very general ſatisfaction, by delaying the commiſſion; and proceeded to take meaſures for the defence

fence of the city againſt the confederated army. Many of the principal citizens, alarmed at theſe delays, harangued freely in council in favour of an accomodation; but theſe were inſulted in the ſtreet by the youth of the gonfalonier's party, for their freedom of ſpeech in council. This occaſioned a public complaint, and ſo much general indignation, that the gonfalonier was obliged to give way, and diſpatch the ambaſſadors with full powers: but he had ſtill the art to delay the deliberations in council upon the terms of accommodation. The ambaſſadors met with ſome difficulty to find the pope, and could not agree among themſelves. Sodorini goes to Lucca, Strozzi to Venice; Capponi reſolves to return to Florence, and labour openly and decidedly to perſuade his fellow-citizens into an accomodation, and Girolami returns to oppoſe him *. Capponi is taken ſick, and dies at Garfagnana; Girolami therefore had a larger field opened to his † ambition to be gonfalonier, to which end he accommodated his diſcourſe variouſly to different parties

*. Segni, Vita di Niccolo Capponi, p. 42.

†. Infra le cagione, atte a rovinare la repubblica, una, e non la manco ſono i cittadini, che favoriti, e fattiſi capi del popolo, mentreche ora per ritenere quella grandezza, e ora per racquiſtarla, cercano di fare ogni coſa, che piace alla moltitudine, ne s'avveggono che diſtruggono quella liberta: e queſto e confermato, con molti eſempi dell'antiche repubbli che della Grecia, e piu modernamente con quelli della Romana dove ſi vede, a chi conſidera quelle ſtorje con buono giudizio, i cittadini popolari, eſſere ſtati piu cagione della ſua rovna, che quegli, che favorivano l'autorita del ſenato. Sienmi di cio teſtimonio in prime i Gracchi, di poi Mario, e Ceſare ultimamente, i quali ſebbene con oneſte cagioni di ſollevare il popolo graſſo, cercarono, di compiacergli, ebbono nondimanco ſotto queſto preteſto nedeſimo naſceſto il veleno, che eſtinſe appoco quella republica. Non e dubbio, che, leggendo queſta ſtoria, ſi potra conchiudere queſto medeſimo, che i capi del popolo, Sodorini, Strozzi, Carducci, mentreche

ties of the citizens: from thoſe whom he knew to be deſirous of peace, he diſguiſed his ſentiments, and concealed his late conduct; to the neutral party he propoſed, that the city ſhould ſtand upon its defence, and make the beſt preparations for it, but be ready to receive, or even to propoſe any reaſonable terms of accommodation on the firſt favourable opportunity; but with the faction of the gonfalonier, knowing their reſolution to be fixed to ſee the city periſh rather than yield to any accommodation, he opened himſelf in private without reſerve, and declared himſelf devoted to their ſyſtem. It is the general opinion of hiſtorians as well as of Segni, "that the di-
"viſions of the citizens into parties under the
"triumvirate, and afterwards of thoſe perſons of
"middle rank, who, by means of their diſcords,
"came after them into power, as Carducci, Caſ-
"tiglione, and others, were the true cauſe of the
"loſs of their liberties; for theſe perſons, though
"few in number, among a people jealous of their
"liberties, and full of parties and various hu-
"mours, found it eaſy to agitate their fellow-
"citizens in ſo violent a manner, as to make
"them reſolve upon ſuſtaining a ſiege, and to
"render the defence glorious. And although it
"is not denied that the pope gave a provocation
"to this, and would have tried every method to
"recover Florence, yet the difficulties were ſo
"great, that it is not doubted he would have
"been contented with reaſonable conditions, ra-
"ther than venture on ſo atrocious and ſo impi-
"ous a war."

mentreche opponendoſi a Niccolo Capponi, per farſi piu grandi e venire in piu grazia, indebolirono aſai quel governo. Segni, Storie, lib. iv. p. 102.

We

We paſs over all the marches of armies, and intrigues of negotiation between the king of France, the emperor, the pope, the Venetians, &c. which occurred before the fifth of October, 1529, when the prince of Orange advanced before Florence, and laid ſiege to the city, which was now well fortified, and contained a ſtrong garriſon. Valori was ſent by the pope as his commiſſary to the army, and with him went a large number of Florentine exiles (of whom there was always a multitude ſcattered and wandering about all Italy, and waiting for the motion of troubled waters) who now joined the united army of the pope and emperor. As theſe had relations and connexions in the city, an alarm was excited; and, to intimidate every one from the thoughts of an accommodation, the ſignori reſolved that five-and-twenty citizens ſhould be declared ſuſpected of diſaffection to the popular government, and confined in the palace under a ſtrong guard: and, to complete their plan of terror againſt any one who might ſpeak of an accommodation, they cut off the head of Carlo Cocchi, for ſaying that it would be better to reſtore the Medici than to hazard the war, and for talking of a parliament. There is not in the whole hiſtory a fact more curious than this, as it lets us into the true character of this government. It was always called the popular government, but it was really an ariſtocracy; and the members of it dreaded an aſſembly or convention of the people*, which they called

* E per dare piu ſpavento, e per metrere piu terrore, a chi pur ancora voleſſe ragionare d'accordo, preſero certa occaſione contro a Carlo Cocchi ſopra una querela, par la quale era Carlo accuſato, ch' egli aveſſe detto quando ſi ragionava largemente, e molto liberamente nell' univerſale dell accordo, che

called a parliament, as much as they did the Medici; and ſoon after, the ſame ſentence and execution was paſſed upon Fra. Rigogolo, for daring to ſpeak of an accommodation *. And by theſe arts and means did this ariſtocratical tyrant, the gonfalonier, ſpread ſuch a terror among the citizens, that no man dared oppoſe his will; and he obtained and exerciſed more power then the magiſtrates, the cabal (pratiche), the ordinary council, or the laws; and he uſed it accordingly in the moſt arbitrary manner, in raiſing money by various illegal meaſures, by diſcarding magiſtrates and diſſolving councils at his pleaſure, and in doing all other things that an unbridled deſpot could do. It would be tedious, and it is unneceſſary to relate all the perticulars of his arbitrary conduct; of the aſſaults and ſallies, in one of wich the prince of Orange was killed; the hopes, fears, deliberations, diſtreſſes, and famine of a ſiege, which does infinite diſhonour to this pope, who had no right to ſubject the city; and of a defence which was made by the obſtinacy of an ariſtocratical junto for purpoſes of ambition, equally reprehenſible, though coloured with a pretence of a popular government, but which was by no means conducted by the ſpirit of liberty, or upon any principle of a free people: on the contrary, it was conducted,

che fuſſe piutoſto da voler rimettere i Medici, che aſpettare la guerra, e conteneva la querela, che Carlo in un certo modo aveſſe in quel ſuo parlare meſcolato anche il nome tanto odioſo al governo papolare del *parlamento*. Nerli, lib. ix. p. 199.

* Onde meſſono tale ſpavento, e tanto terrore nell' univerſale perragione, de citadini ſoſtenuti e per quelle eſecutioni, che s'erano fa t, chi piu non era rimaſo in Firenze chi pure erdiſſe non ſolo parlare dell' accordo, o della guerra, ma non era onche chi aveſſe in enimo a contraorſi a quelli della ſetta del gonfaloniere in coſa alcuna." Nerli, p. 199.

from

from firſt to laſt, without regard to any law or conſtitution, and againſt the ſenſe of a great majority of the people. The defence was ſuſtained from October to Auguſt, on the ninth day of which month, 1530, four ambaſſadors were deputed to treat with Don Fernando da Gonzaga, who, ſince the death of Orange, had the chief command of the army, and the next day a convention was concluded. The principal articles were, that the city ſhould pay eight thouſand ducats for removing the army; that the pope and the city ſhould give authority to the emperor to declare, within three months, what ſhould be the form of government, "ſalva nondimena la liberta *," with a reſervation of liberty; that a pardon ſhould be underſtood, for every one, of all injuries done to the pope, his friends, and ſervants; and that Malateſta ſhould remain with two thouſand foot, for the guard of the city, until the emperor's declaration ſhould arrive. It is made a queſtion, whether the general who commanded in Florence was or was not a traitor to his cauſe. Varchi is very ſanguine in the affirmative, and produces letters in evidence; but the citizens and garriſon were reduced to ſuch extremities for proviſions, that they could not have held out three days longer. The pope, on his part, was not very anxious to fulfil his treaty. While the money was

* In primis, che la forma del governo abbia da ordinarſi, e ſtabilirſi dalla Maeſtà Ceſarea infra quattro meſi proſſimi avvenire, *intendendoſi ſempre conſervata la liberta.* Nerli, lib. xi. p. 144.—Intendendoſi ſempre, che ſia conſervata la liberta. Varchi, lib. xi. p. 429.—Che la citta rimaneſſe libera nel modo ch' ell' era, rimettendo ſolamenti i Medeci, e tutti gli altri cittadini, fatte ribelle, da quel governo. Segni, p. 125. Nardi, lib. ix. p. 382. Muratori, Annal. tom. x. p. 213, anno 1530, Laugier, Hiſt. de Veniſe, lib. xxxv. tom. ix. p. 385. Guicchiardini, lib. xix.

getting

getting ready to pay off the army, Valori, the apoſtolic commiſſary, in concert with Malateſta, having called together the people in the piazza, according to the ancient cuſtom of the city, to make a parliament, the magiſtrates and others conniving at it through fear, inſtituted a new government contrary to the treaty, giving authority by this parliament to twelve citizens, who adhered to the Medici, to ordain, in their own manner, the conſtitution of the city who reduced it to that form which prevailed before the year 1527. The army received their money; the Italian officers defrauded their ſoldiers, whom they diſmiſſed to ſeek their fortunes without their pay; the Spaniards and Germans marched into Siena, to new-model the government of that city; and Malateſta returned to Perugia without any further declaration from the emperor, and left the city of Florence at the arbitrary diſpoſition of the Pontiff.

Now began the puniſhment of the citizens; for thoſe in whoſe hands the government was left, partly for the ſecurity of the ſtate, and partly by the hatred conceived againſt the authors of ſo great calamities, and the reſentment of private injuries, but principally becauſe ſuch was the intention of the pope, brought the principal citizens concerned in the late government to a trial and they were ſentenced to death and executed: others were confined, without much regret, ſympathy, or pity from any party; for the friends of Capponi, and all the real friends of liberty, regarded them as the cauſes of preventing an accommodation, and the ruin of their country, while the Medici conſidered them as their bittereſt enemies. The pope ſends the archbiſhop of Capua to take care of the government, who, by the pope's orders, and to give more general ſatisfac-

tion to the citizens, cauſes the balia to be increaſed in number to one hundred and thirty-ſix, makes a general ſcrutiny for offices, regulates commerce, makes a new imborſation of the ſix magiſtrates, renews the purſes, and diſpoſes all other things according to his inclinations: but a quarrel ariſes between the cardinal Hippolito de Medici and the duke Alexander, and a contention for the ſovereignty of Florence; but the pope and the emperor determine it in favour of Alexander.

In 1531 the ordinance of the emperor arrived, and is formally accepted. Many of the beſt citizens, ſome of whom had been always friends of the Medici, with great reluctance gave up the idea of a free government; they ſtill ſolicited the pope againſt reducing the republic to an abſolute principality, but they could not agree among themſelves: ſome were for a dukedom, limited only by councils; others for reſtoring the ſtate to the form it was formerly in under the Medici; and others for a more rational diſtribution of power. But the pope was determined, if he could, to make his family and friends ſecure.

In 1532 the pope's intentions were made known and twelve citizens were appointed to reform the ſtate; the ſignori and the gonfalonier were aboliſhed: a council of two hundred was created, and a ſenate of forty-eight. The ſenate of forty-eight was to have the whole legiſlative and executive power, and the council of two hundred were merely to conſider private petitions, and ſuch things as ſhould be referred to them by the ſenate. Four perſons, members of the ſenate, were to be high counſellors of the duke, and Alexander and his heirs were made dukes, and heads of the ſtate.

ſtate. Guicchiardin's account is*, that the pope interpreted the article in the treaty, which had ſtipulated pardon, not according to the ſenſe, but the letter, not to comprehend crimes committed againſt the ſtate, but only injuries to the pope and his friends. Six of the principal delinquents were adjudged by the magiſtrates to be beheaded, others to be impriſoned, and a great number baniſhed. By theſe proceedings the city was weakened, and thoſe who had been concerned in the late troubles reduced to great neceſſities, and the power of the Medici became more free, more abſolute, and almoſt monarchical in Florence, which remained exhauſted of money by ſo long and grievous a war, deprived within and without of many of its inhabitants, its houſes and property deſtroyed abroad, and more than ever divided within itſelf: and this poverty was rendered yet more diſtreſſing, by the neceſſity of procuring, for ſeveral years, proviſions from foreign countries, ſince there had been no harveſts nor ſeeds ſown. The emperor, in declaring the form of government, neglecting the ſalvo of liberty, pronounced, accordiug to the very inſtructions the pope had ſent him, that the city ſhould be governed by the ſame magiſtrates as in the times when the Medici ruled it, and that Alexander, who was the pope's nephew, and his own ſon-in-law, ſhould be the head of the government, and be ſucceeded by the children, deſcendants, and neareſt relations of the ſame family. He reſtored to the city all the privileges granted by himſelf or his predeceſſors, but on condition to be forfeited whenever the citizens ſhould make any attempt againſt the grandeur of the family of Medici; inſerting,

* Guicchiardini, lib. xx.

throughout

throughout the decree, words which ſhewed it to be founded not only in the power conceded to him by the people and the parties, but alſo on the imperial dignity and authority. The ſpirit of families, and the ambition peculiar to it, is, when once thoroughly enkindled, a raging flame extinguiſhable only by death; every new gratification of it is only a freſh addition of fuel to the burnings. The paſſion of Hercules, Cæſar, and Mahomet, had now full poſſeſſion of Clement the Seventh; and the domination ſo perfidiouſly acquired over that noble city, where his anceſtors had laid the foundation of their power in a popularity among the baſeſt dregs of a mob, was not ſufficient to ſatiate it. The pontiff had fixed in his heart an ardent appetite for an alliance with France; his ambition and thirſt for this kind of glory, which, inſtead of being a virtue, is a deteſtable vice, ſtimulated him the more, that being only of a private family, he had obtained for one natural ſon a natural daughter of ſo powerful an emperor, he now hoped to procure for his legitimate niece a legitimate ſon of a king of France; and he was not diſcouraged from this pretenſion by the jealouſy that the king of France might form claims for his ſon and daughter-in-law on the ſtate of Florence. By various negociations he at length accompliſhed an interview with the king of France at Marſeilles. The pontiff exerted his uſual diſſimulation to perſuade all the world, that he went to this interview chiefly to finiſh the peace, to treat of an enterprize againſt the infidels, to reduce Henry the Eighth, king of England, to his duty: in ſhort, with a ſingle view to the public good. But he could not conceal his real motive, when he ſent his niece on board the gallies which the king of France had ordered

ordered, with the duke of Albany, her uncle, to Nizza. Theſe gallies, after having conducted the lady to Nizza, returned to Piſa, and on the fourth of October, 1532, took the pope, with many of his cardinals, and landed them in a few days at Marſeilles. He made his entry in form: the king did the ſame. They lodged in the ſame palace, and made mutual demonſtrations of uncommon affection. The king, deſirous of gaining the pope's heart, requeſted him to ſend for his niece to Marſeilles, which the pope, though he pretended to treat firſt of public affairs, moſt cordially deſired *. As ſoon as Catharine de Medici arrived, the marriage was clebrated with Henry the ſon of the king of France, and conſummated immediately, to the infinite joy of the pope, who, negotiating with the king in perſon, completely gained his confidence and affection.

The pope returned from Marſeilles, and ſoon after, in 1534, he died. Alexander had taken effectual meaſures to diſarm all the citizens of Florence, friends as well as enemies, and thought himſelf now ſecure, Philip Strozzi, however, was highly diſguſted and provoked, both with the duke and the pope, becauſe he had not been able to procure one of his ſons to be made a cardinal, as his lady Clariſſa had often promiſed him: and becauſe two of his ſons had been taken up, with ſome other young gentlemen, in the licence of a maſquerade, and committed to priſon by the lieutenant of the police, and becauſe of ſome quarrel ariſen between Peter his eldeſt ſon, and Salviati a favourite of Alexander: in this diſguſt he went with his ſons, as ſoon as he could obtain their liberty, to France. After the death of the pope,

*Nerli, p. 270.

animoſities

animoſities increaſed between the duke Alexander and the cardinal Hippolito, and Philip Strozzi goes from France to Rome; and as great diviſions aroſe in Florence, on account of the difference between the duke and the cardinal, and their negotiations with the emperor, as had exiſted under the former government. Hippolito, on a journey to meet the emperor, though in high health and ſtrength, is taken violently ill on the road, and dies, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon. The death of the cardinal relieves the duke from all apprehenſions of his intrigues; but Philip Strozzi, and the exile, from Florence, began to think of negotiating with the emperor, and went to Naples to meet him. Alexandar too goes to Naples: and there aroſe great diſputes before the emperor about the form of government; Strozzi and the exiles endeavouring to obtain a reſtoration of that kind of freedom which had been enjoyed formerly under the Medici. But Alexander marries the ducheſs Margarite, the emperor's daughter, and returns to Florence, leaving Strozzi and the exiles diſappointed*. Lorenzo di Pierfranco de Medici had accompanied Alexander to this interview with the emperor at Naples, and there had entered into intimate friendſhip with Peter Strozzi † and the other Florentine exiles, and conceived that deſign of aſſaſſinating his friend and patron, which he afterwards executed with ſo many circumſtances of cool deliberation, inſidious malice, and execrable villany. He was a young nobleman, in greater favour with the duke than any other. To him, after their return from Na-

* Nerli, p. 286. Segni, lib. vii. p. 199. Adriani, Hiſt. di ſuoi Tempi, p. 9.

† Varchi, p. 547.

ples

ples to Florence, were communicated all the duke's private amours, as well as all the moſt important councils of the ſtate; and the more effectually to ſecure his confidence, Lorenzo had acted the part of ſo active an inſtrument, as to have drawn upon himſelf an univerſal odium among all parties in Florence, but particularly among the grandees and nobles. At the ſame time he held ſecret intrigues and intelligence with Philip Strozzi *, and all the exiles abroad, and at home ſo artfully affected an averſion to arms and public affairs, and to be wholly devoted to his ſtudies and his pleaſures, that the duke and his courtiers called him "The Philoſopher †." Varchi informs us ‡, that he received his information of this horrid action from the only perſons who could be capable of relating the whole truth, becauſe they were the only witneſſes of it, and agents in it; from Lorenzo himſelf in the city of Paluello, eight miles from Padua, and from Scoronconcolo his confident in the houſe of the Strozzi in Venice.

Lorenzo was born in Florence, the 23d of March, 1514, the ſon of Pierfranceſco di Lorenzo de Medici grand nephew of Lorenzo brother of Coſmo, and of Maria the daughter of Tommaſo di Paolantonio Sodorini, a lady of uncommon prudence and benevolence from whom, his father dying early, he was educated with conſummate diligence and care; but he had no ſooner acquired the knowledge of the claſſics, in which his genius enabled him to make a rapid progreſs, than he was taken from the care of his mother and his tutor, and begun to diſcover a reſtleſs and inſatiable diſpoſition to plunge himſelf in vice, and ſoon

* Segni, p. 199.
† Ibid. p. 200.
‡ Varchi, lib. xvi. 587.

afterwards,

afterwards, in imitation of Philip Strozzi, to make a jeſt of every thing divine and human, and to aſſociate himſelf with perſons of baſe condition and character, rather then with his equals. Theſe by continual flatteries, and fomenting his paſſions, led him into vice and folly of every kind, particularly into all the extravagances of brutal appetite in his amours, reſpecting neither ſex, age, condition, or ſecrecy. While he ſought an intercourſe with all, he affected to eſteem none; yet he had an equally extravagant paſſion for glory, and left no empirical artifice unattempted, in his words or actions, by which he thought he could acquire a name, either of a gallant man or a ſhrewd one. He was nimble and active, rather lean than otherwiſe, and for this reaſon he affected to call himſelf Lorenzino: he never laughed; at moſt he only ſmiled. His air and action was more remarkable for grace than elegance, and his countenance was dark and melancholy. In the flower of his youth, although he was beloved beyond meaſure by the pope, Clement the Seventh, he had formed in his mind a project, as he ſaid himſelf, after he had killed the duke Alexander, to aſſaſſinate his holineſs. He corrupted Franceſco di Rafaello de Medici, the rival of the pope, a youth of excellent erudition, and the moſt promiſing hopes, to ſuch a degree of profligacy, that he ſeemed to be quite another character, and becoming the deriſion of the whole court of Rome, he was ſent back, to avoid a greater diſgrace, as a madman to Florence. At this time he fell into diſgrace with the pope, and gave univerſal diſguſt to the Roman people, by another reaſon:—One morning, in the arch of Conſtantine, and in other places of Rome, many ancient ſtatues were found without their heads. The pope was ſo exaſperated, that, not thinking

thinking of Lorenzo, he gave orders, that whoever had done the miſchief, excepting only the cardinal de Medici, ſhould, without proceſs, trial, or delay, be hanged up by the neck. The cardinal was obliged to go to the pope, and intercede for Lorenzo, as a young man, and paſſionately fond, like all their anceſtors, of ſuch antiquities; but it was with difficulty he could appeaſe the indignation of the pope, who called him the infamy and reproach of the houſe of Medici. Lorenzo, however, was obliged to depart from Rome, with two public proclamations after him, one forbidding him to remain any longer in that city, and the other promiſing not only impunity but rewards, to any one who would kill him; and Franceſco Molza, a man of great eloquence, and celebrated for his knowledge of the Grecian, Roman, and Tuſcan literature, made a public oration againſt him in the Roman academy, in which he covered him with all the reproaches poſſible. With all this infamy he returned to Florence and began to make his court to the duke Alexander, and he underſtood ſo well the arts of hypocriſy and flattery, and counterfeited ſo perfectly an abſolute ſubmiſſion to him in all things, that he made him believe he was a faithful ſpy upon the exiles abroad, holding at the ſame time, under this ſimulation, ſecret practices with theſe fugitives, and every day ſhewing letters received from them jointly or ſeverally. To remove every ſuſpicion of any daring enterpriſe, he affected the character of a coward, and would neither exerciſe in arms nor wear them about him, ſo that the duke took a pleaſure in rallying him upon his puſillanimity. He affected to be wholly devoted to books and ſtudies, walked much alone, and appeared to have no ambition for honours, or deſire of property, in

ſo remarkable a manner that they called him the philoſopher. He complied with the inclinations of the duke in all things, and favoured him in all occurrences, eſpecially againſt ſignor Coſſimo, his ſecond couſin, againſt whom he bore an unbounded hatred, either becauſe they were of different, or rather contrary characters by nature, or by reaſon of a law-ſuit of very great importance, which Coſimo had inſtituted againſt him for the inheritance of their anceſtors. By all theſe artifices the duke was deluded into a confidence in Lorenzo, ſo perfectly ſecure, that not contented with employing him as a pimp in his amours with all ſorts of women, religious as well as ſecular, virgins, wives, or widows, noble or ignoble, young or old, he now engaged him to conduct to him a ſiſter of his own mother by the father's ſide, a young lady of admirable beauty and equal modeſty, who was the wife of Lionardo Ginori, who lived not far from the door of the back front of the palace of Medici. Lorenzo who waited only for a ſimilar opportunity, repreſented to him that the intrigue would be attended with difficulty, though not from himſelf, for in one word all women were alike; and upon this occaſion their proſpects were the better, becauſe the huſband was at Naples, where he had ſpent much of his fortune in diſſipation. Although he had never dared to ſpeak to the lady, on the ſubject, he affirmed to the duke that he had, and that he had found her very obſtinate; but he promiſed that he would never ceaſe to ſeduce her, by bribes, flatteries, and every ſpecies of corruption, until he brought her to condeſcend in all things to their will. In the mean while he went on entertaining, not only by his actions but with words, one Michele del Tovalaccino, by means of the before-named Scoronconcolo, for whom he had

had procured a pardon for a murder he had committed, though a reward had by proclamation been ſet upon his head. To theſe ruffians he often complained of a certain intriguing perſonage at court, who, without the ſmalleſt provocation, had bantered, ſlandered, and inſulted him with his jokes upon all his words and actions, but that in the name of God——. At theſe words Scoronconcolo, perceiving his meaning, ſuddenly cried, "Name him only, and let me alone to ma-"nage him; he ſhall never give you another ill "word or look." Here the converſation ended for the preſent, but Scoronconcolo found himſelf every day more and more careſſed and loaded with favours by Lorenzo, who at length preſſed him more earneſtly to name his enemy, and not to doubt of his being ſoon put out of his way. Lorenzo anſwered, "Alas! no: it is a great favou-"rite of the duke, whatever it is." Scoronconcolo replied, in the language of a bully, "I will "aſſaſſinate him if he were Chriſt himſelf." Lorenzo then perceived that his deſign had ſucceeded, and having invited him one day to dinner, as he ofted did, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his mother, and the reproaches of the world, ſaid to him, "Courage! courage! in that affair, "which you promiſed me ſo bravely! I am ſure you will not fail me; and I will never fail you, "at any time, in any thing in my power. I am "ſatisfied and reſolved, but wiſh to find the means "of doing the buſineſs with a ſure hand. I "will contrive to conduct him to a place where "there can be no danger, and have no doubt we "ſhall ſucceed." The ſame night appeared to him to be the moſt proper time, becauſe that ſignor Alexander Vitelli was abſent upon an excurſion to the city of Caſtello, and he took that opportunity

portunity, after ſupper, to whiſper in the ear of the duke, and to ſay to him, that at laſt, by the promiſe of money, he had diſpoſed his aunt to comply, and therefore he muſt watch his opportunity, and come alone, and very cautiouſly, into his chamber, taking particular care, for the honour of the lady, that no one ſhould ſee him either enter or go out, and that he himſelf would go immediately for her. It is certain that the duke, having put on a robe of ſatin lined with fur, according to the Neapolitan faſhion, went out the walk with four of his courtiers, whom he ſoon diſmiſſed, ſaying, he wiſhed to be alone, and ſoon after went to the chamber of Lorenzo, where he found a good fire, and he ſoon ungirded his ſword, and threw himſelf down on the coach. Lorenzo ſuddenly ſeized his ſword, and winding haſtily the pelt round the hilt, ſo that it might not be eaſily unſheathed, laid it at the head of the duke, behind his pillow, and adviſed him to repoſe himſelf; ſecures one door, that no one might come in, and goes out at the other to find Scoronconcolo; and ſays to him, in a tranſport of joy, "My dear brother, "now is the moment! I have ſhut up in my cham-"ber that enemy of mine, and he is faſt aſleep." "Let us go," ſays Scoronconcolo; and when they were on the broad ſtair aſcending to the chamber, Lorenzo turns about and ſays, "Don't mind "whether it is a freind of the duke or not, "mind you only to ſecure his hands." "I will "do it," replies his truſty friend, "if it is the "duke himſelf." "Every thing is ſo prepared," ſays Lorenzo with a joyful countenance, "that he "cannot eſcape from our hands; let us make "haſte." "Let us go," ſays Scoronconcolo. Lorenzo lifted up the latch and let it fall again. At the ſecond attempt he entered, and cried out, "Signor,

"Signor, are you aſleep?" Having no anſwer to this queſtion, at one thruſt with his ſword he pierced him through from ſide to ſide. This ſtroke alone had been mortal, for paſſing through the reins, he had perforated the diaphragm which divides the upper ventricle, where are the heart and the other vital members, from the lower, where are the liver and the other members of nutrition and of generation. The duke, who either was aſleep, or remained with his eyes ſhut as if he had ſlept, receiving ſuch a blow, leaped up on the bed, and threw himſelf backward to fly towards the door, making uſe of a ſtool which he had ſeized on for a ſhield; but Scoronconcolo, ſeized an opportunity, gave him a ſtroke with a knife upon the viſage which laid open one of his temples, and cleaved the greateſt part of the left cheek; and Lorenzo having dragged him back upon the bed, held him reverſed, and bore upon his back with the whole weight of his body; and that he might not cry out, attempted to ſtop his mouth with his fingers, ſaying, "Signor, doubt not." Then the duke, aſſiſting himſelf as well as he could, ſeized the fingers between his teeth, and bit them with ſuch rage, that Lorenzo, having fell upon his back, and not being able to handle his ſword, was obliged to call out for help to Scoronconcolo, who runing to his aid, and taking his aim ſometimes on one ſide, and then on the other, was not able to ſtrike Alexander without ſtriking firſt or at the ſame time Lorenzo, held faſt by his arms and teeth. He than attempted to pierce him with the point of his ſword between the legs of Lorenzo; but making no other impreſſion than to bore the bed, he laid his hand on a knife, which he had by accident about him, and fixed it in the throat of the duke, whom he butchered as if he had been a bullock:

bullock: he was already, however very near expiring from the effects of the firſt blow, by which he had loſt ſo much blood as to have overflown almoſt the whole chamber. It ought not to be forgotten, that through the whole of this tragical ſcene while Lorenzo held him under, and he ſaw Scoronconcolo groping about him with his ſword and knife to murder him, he never once complained or begged for mercy, or let go his hold of thoſe fingers which he held firmly between his teeth. The duke as ſoon as he was dead, ſlided off the bed upon the floor; but they took him up, all over beſmeared with blood, and placed him again upon the bed, and covered him with the ſame pavilion with which he had concealed himſelf before he firſt fell aſleep, or made a ſhew of being aſleep, which in the opinion of ſome, he artfully did, becauſe, knowing himſelf unſkilful in the ceremonies of politeneſs, and that the lady whom he expected was a miſtreſs in elegant converſation, he wiſhed to avoid in this manner the neceſſity of exchanging fine ſpeeches with her. Lorenzo, after he had diſpoſed of the duke, partly to ſee whether they had been heard, and partly to recover his ſpirits, much exhauſted by fatigue, placed himſelf at one of the windows which overlooked the broad ſtreet. Some perſons in the houſe particularly madam Maria, the mother of Coſimo, had heard a noiſe, and a trampling of feet; but no one had aroſe, becauſe Lorenzo with this view had for ſome time before brought into this chamber companions of his comrades, drinking, rioting, and making a ſhew of quarrelling, crying out, "murder! treaſon! you have cilled me!" and other exclamation of that kind. when Lorenzo had repoſed himſelf, he made Scoronconcolo call one of his footmen, named Freccia, and ſhow him

him the dead body, which he recognized with ſuch aſtoniſhment and horror, that he was with difficulty reſtrained from alarming the whole houſe. To what purpoſe he did this he neither explained to the hiſtorian, nor was he able to conjecture, unleſs it was upon the ſame principle, that nothing which Lorenzo did, from the moment of the death of Alexander to the time of his own death, or many years afterwards in Venice, ever ſucceeded, or appeared to be well judged. He took from Francis Zeffi, his maitre d'hotel, a ſmall ſum of money, all that he had by him in caſh; aud taking with him the key of the chamber, goes out of the houſe with Scoronconcolo and Freccia, and having previouſly obtained from the biſhop of Marzi a licenſe for poſt-horſes, under colour of going to his country ſeat of Cafaggiuolo, to ſee Giuliano, his younger brother, who, he pretended had written to him that he was at the point of death with the cholic, went directly to Bologna, where he dreſſed his fingers which were found marked for life, and there related to Silveſter Aldobrandini, the judge, the whole tranſaction: but the judge, thinking it a romantic fiction, would not believe it, and very imprudently neglected to take any notice of it, until the arrival of the chevalier Marſili, who, with ſome others, went in purſuit of Lorenzo. The latter, in great haſte and fatigue, arrived at Venice on the Monday night and informed Philip Strozzi, that under that key which he held out to him, he had locked up the duke Alexander, with his throat cut, and dead of many wounds. Philip very readily believed him, embraced him, and called him his Brutus, and promiſed him that he would marry his two ſons, Peter and Robert to his two ſiſters. Lorenzo excuſed himſelf for not having aſſembled the

the people after the death of the duke, for three reaſons. One was, that there were at the houſe ſeveral other popular citizens; but this was never heard of, nor believed by any one. Another was, that he had left it in commiſſion with Zeffo to open the chamber early in the morning, and go in queſt of Giulian Capponi, and other citizens, lovers of liberty, and tell them what they ſhould find in it. Thirdly, that Scoronconcolo had not ceaſed to ſtimulate him to depart, ſaying to him every minute, "Let us ſave ourſelves, we have done "but too much." But thus much is certain, that as no conſpiracy was ever ſo deliberately meditated before the fact, nor more completely executed, ſo none was ever ſo ſtupidly and vilely conducted after the fact; nor was there ever any one from whence reſulted effects more contrary or more hurtful to the perpetrator, or ſo proſperous and profitable to his enemies, the firſt of whom, without all controverſy, was the ſignor Coſimo.

"I will not diſpute," ſays Varchi, "whether this act was cruel or compaſſionate, commendable or blame-worthy, ſince no man can reſolve that queſtion, and give a true anſwer to it, who does not know for what reaſon, and to what end, Lorenzo, was induced to commit it. If he was urged to ſo great an enterpriſe not to obtain the government of Florence, which, upon the death of the duke without legitimate deſcendants, would fall to him, but merely to deliver his country from a tyrant and reſtore her liberty, as he affirmed, I ſhould think that no praiſes that could be given him would be high enough, and no rewards could be beſtowed upon him which would not be below his merit." Is it not aſtoniſhing that ſuch an hiſtorian ſhould admit of a doubt, whether the motives of Lorenzo could be good ones? Is it poſ-

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ſible to read his own hiſtory, and not ſee that this ſtruggle was merely between different branches of the ſame family of Medici for the ſovereignty, and that there was not a ray of public virtue or love of liberty left in any of them? Strozzi, the rival family of Medici, had married a Medici, and could not bear that Alexander ſhould rule. His character was too vile to be redeemed from infamy by his hypocritical affection of republican ſimplicity, and his renouncing all titles but that of Philip; but he had great family connections, and was countenanced by France, and therefore might poſſibly recover his influence and power in Florence. This made it dangerous for the hiſtorian to mark the conduct of Lorenzo with that decided indignation which it merited. Some were of opinion that he was moved to this action merely by the malice of his nature, and the depravity of his own heart; others thought that he ventured on this danger to cancel the ignominy of the two Roman proclamations, and the oration made againſt him by Molza; others thought him agitated ſolely by a deſire to make his name immortal, an ardent paſſion, that with all his crimes and vices had always incredibly tormented him. The right of a nation to depoſe a tyrant, and to deſtroy him if he cannot be otherwiſe diſpoſed, is as clear as any of our ideas of right or wrong. In the Roman republic it was made an early and a fundamental law, by the ariſtocratics however, that it ſhould be not only lawful, but meritorious and glorious, to kill a tyrant; and Brutus therefore acted the exalted part of the beſt citizen. But if the right of ſingle citizens, when good and virtuous, and intending only the public good, to kill a tyrant was as clear as that of treading on the head of an adder or hunting down a devour-

ing wolf, it would by no means follow that one tyrant might claim a right to deſtroy another, merely to take his place. The people of Florence were now ſo totally devoted to the Medici family, that there was no party among them but what was headed by ſome branch of it: the blood of the Medici muſt in all events govern them; and the difference between them was worth very little. Strozzi and Lorenzo were worſe than Alexander; and the only tolerably good man among them was Coſimo, whom they all hated, but whom Providence was pleaſed to call to the government in this awful manner. The ſilly tales of prognoſtics, the enthuſiaſm of the diſciples of Savanorola, and the confuſions and terrors among the principal people upon the firſt ſuſpicion and final diſcovery of the duke's deſtiny, are not worth repeating. The council of forty-eight were aſſembled, but were not agreed in opinion. Canigiani propoſed, that in place of the deceaſed duke, Guilio, his natural ſon, ſhould ſucceed; but there was no other perſon preſent, who did not either ſmile at his folly, or expreſs an indignation; for beſides that the child was not five years old, this was known to be the inclination and ſecret motion of cardinal Cibo, Lorenzo's brother, who wiſhed to be the tutor, and therefore governor of the city. After him was propoſed the ſignor Coſimo de Medici, who knowing nothing of what had happened, was at Mugello, fifteen miles from Florence, at his country ſeat of Trebbio. At this nomination all appeared to be ſtruck, and looking at one another, ſeemed ready to accept it, every one knowing that Coſimo was the next heir, after Lorenzo, according to the declaration of the emperor; but Palla Rucellai, without doubt in favour of Philip Strozzi, to whom he was attached, oppoſed warmly this

this propoſition, and ſaid that ſo many citizens, and of ſuch conſequence, were abroad, that nothing of importance, eſpecially ſo great an affair, ought to be determined on; and notwithſtanding all that was urged by Franceſco Guicchiardini, and Franceſco Vettori, he perſiſted obſtinately in his objections, and occaſioned ſome confuſion in council. At another day, however, Coſimo was elected head of the commonwealth, accepted the truſt, and behaved in it with ſo much wiſdom, that thoſe who, from his moderate and compoſed behaviour before, believed him to be poſſeſſed of but mean abilities, were conſtrained to confeſs that God had granted him diſcretion with the dukedom.

Intelligence was ſcattered throughout all Italy, with incredible celerity of the death of Alexander; and, by all the Florentine exiles, the name of Lorenzo di Perfranceſo de Medici was exalted in praiſes to the ſkies, not only as the parallel of Brutus, but greatly ſurpaſſing him. Varchi wonders that ſo many citizens of ſo great prudence, and eſpecially Guicchiardini, who conducted the whole of his election, ſhould have ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far blinded and tranſported by their ambition or avarice, or both, as not to ſee what they were about. Indeed, no man is ever to be praiſed, perhaps never to be juſtified, in conſenting to the ſurrender of a free government; and Guicchiardini appears much to blame for not endeavouring to new-model the commonwealth upon this occaſion. But moſt probably he knew, what Varchi himſelf confeſſes*, that the Florentines were at this time all either avaricious or ambitious, and the major part of them proud, envious, and malicious; and therefore that none of them

* Varchi, p. 624.

could

could be truſted by him, or by each other. He probably believed that delay, or any attempt to reſtore liberty or reform the conſtitution, would only give an opportunity to Strozzi, Lorenzo, and the exiles, to aſſume the dukedom in reality, under the alliance of France; he moreover probably thought it impoſſible, among an ignorant people, and ſo many corrupt factions, to amend the conſtitution, and that a ſovereignty in one was preferable to their old fluctuating ariſtocracy, diſguiſed under the name only of a popular ſtate.—The exiles were ſtill reſtleſs, and endeavoured to excite freſh wars againſt their country; but Coſimo, by his abilities, addreſs, and activity, defended his authority, and was afterwards confirmed, not only as head of the ſtate, but as duke and ſovereign. And here ended the ſhadow of a free government.

Let me now requeſt you, my dear Sir, to run over again, in your own mind, this whole ſtory of Florence, and aſk yourſelf, whether it does not appear like a ſatire, written with the expreſs and only purpoſe of expoſing to contempt, ridicule, and indignation, the idea of "a government in one centre," and the "right conſtitution of a commonwealth?" If you ſuſpect that this mean ſketch is in any degree, varied, by prejudice, from the truth, read over any hiſtorian of Florence, as Machiavel, Guicchiardini, Nerli, Nardi, Varchi, Villany, or Ammirato, and then ſay, whether it is not a libel upon Turgot and Nedham. From the beginning to the end, it is one continued ſtruggle between monarchy and ariſtocracy; a continued ſucceſſion of combinations of two or three parties of noble, rich, or conſpicuous families, to depreſs the people on the one hand, and prevent an oligarchy, or a monarchy, from ariſing up among themſelves on the other. Neither the firſt family, nor

nor any of the others their rivals, made any account of the people, excepting now and then for a moment, for the purpoſes of violence, ſedition, and rebellion: inſtead of deviſing any regular method for calling the people together, with a reaſonable notification before-hand of the time, place, and ſubject of deliberation, a little junto of principal citizens concert a plan in ſecret among themſelves, give notice previouſly to ſuch as they pleaſe, their own dependents and partiſans, order the bells to be rung, and a little flock of their own creatures aſſemble in the piazza. There the junto nominate a dozen or a ſcore of perſons for a balia, to reform the ſtate at their pleaſure: no reaſonable method of voting for them, no inſtructions given them; the people huzza, and all is over. What ideas are here of the rights of mankind? what equality is here among the citizens? what principle of national liberty is here reſpected? what method is this to obtain the national ſenſe, the public voice? Can this be called the voice of God? When the balia is appointed, what is the queſtion before them? Is there any enquiry how the government can be made a fair, equal, and conſtant repreſentation of the nation, and a ſure inſtrument for collecting the public wiſdom? The imborſations are made, and eight hundred names are put in the purſes. Theſe alone are citizens; all the reſt are to have no vote. Theſe appoint the ſignori, a ſmall council, for the ordinary adminiſtration, and the gonfalonier, who has no more pow- power nor ſo much dignity as a doge of Venice. The great council is the center in which all authority is collected, and he who had moſt influence in it, governed in reality, whoever were the ſignori or the gonfalonier; conſequently, the council and ſignori too were always divided into parties,

ties, at the head of whom were always two of the moſt noted families; and the only queſtion really was, which ſhould be firſt. As the waves and winds determined, ſometimes one and ſometimes another prevailed, and took vengeance of their opponents by baniſhments and confiſcations. The executive power was ſometimes managed by the ſignori, and ſometimes by the grand conncil: the judicial power was always the tool of the prevailing faction. Was there one year, one moment in the whole hiſtory, when the citizens could be truly ſaid to enjoy the bleſſings of liberty, equality, ſafety and good order? If you fix your eye upon any period, from the beginning to the end of the republic, and ſuppoſe the gonfalonier poſſeſſed of the whole executive power, with a negative upon the legiſlature, the ſignori and grand council made ſeparate and independent branches of the legiſlature, though elected periodically by the people, and the judges made during good behaviour, would not thoſe terrible diſorders have been prevented? The negative to the gonfalonier is not propoſed, becauſe he is a wiſer or a better man than others, but merely as a conſtitutional inſtrument of ſelf-defence; without it, he cannot defend the legal authority which the conſtitution has given him, but the executive power will be pared away, or wreſted out of his hands, by the encroaching diſpoſition of human nature in the two houſes. If he wantonly uſes his negative for other purpoſes, a caſe that can rarely happen, a new gonfalonier muſt be appointed; but if his miniſters are made reſponſible for the advice they give him, the two houſes will always have a remedy. An honeſt repreſentative of the commons will always have another remedy, by withholding ſupplies.

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As this account of Florence was introduced by ſome reflections of a modern author, it cannot be concluded with more propriety than by ſome others from the ſame able and liberal writer. In his Parallel of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages with thoſe of ancient Italy, he ſays *, "Whoever ſhall read, in the Annals of the cities of Lombardy, and in the Chronicles of Tuſcany, how the people paſſed ſo frequently, both in external wars and in civil factions, from battles to peace, and from domeſtic life to arms and hoſtilities, and that perpetual ſucceſſion of accords, rebellions, and tumults, will be apt to believe that he ſees, copied under different names, the wars of the Romans with the Latins and the Volſci, and the continual quarrels of the plebeians with the patricians, and the animoſities of the ſenate againſt the tribunes; and ſometimes it will happen to him, that in reading, for example, the Florentine hiſtory of Scipione Ammirato, he will think he has in his hand a tranſlation into his own language of Livy. The manner of proclaming and proſecuting war, and of concluding peace, which was practiſed by the ancient Italians in the time of Camillus and of Pirrhus, is not very different from that which we obſerve in the age of Frederic the Second and the Manfreds; and, in the internal concerns of the cities, both in the one and the other period, the cruelty and the ſcorn of the nobles towards the plebeians. and the injuſtice of the people in their demands, as ſoon as they had diſcovered their own ſtrength, and had begun to lay their hands on the government. The

* Danina, Revoluzione d'Italia, lib. xii. cap. v. vol. ii. p. 241.

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one and the other were animated with the ſame ſpirit, agitated by the ſame humours, and ſubject to the ſame revolutions. That ſupreme love of their country, which, on occaſions of public danger, ſilenced and appeaſed their private quarrels and enemies, reigned equally at all times in both: the ſame ſimplicity of manners, the ſame ſeverity of life, the ſame patience of poverty and fatigue. To this is to be added, the uſe and exerciſe of arms by which every little nation, if it cannot make extenſive conqueſts, at leaſt may preſerve its own liberty. Finally, he will obſerve with pleaſure, how, after the ancient Italians, and thoſe people who in the midle ages aroſe from the ruins of the kingdom of the Lombards, and of the ſecond weſtern empire, the cities which appear to have had the narroweſt territory, and the moſt modern original, not only maintained their freedom for a long time, but increaſed in power and dominion; whereas the moſt able and the moſt ancient paſſed more eaſily under the yoke, either of tyrants of their own, or of foreign powers. We ſhall ſee, in like manner, a great reſemblance in the fortune of the tyrants of the ancient Italian cities, and thoſe of the republics of Tuſcany and Lombardy, in the age of Frederic the Second, and the following; and may very well find arguments to compare Eccelino of Romagna with Tarquin the Proud; the marquis Oberto Pelavicino, Buoſo da Doara, and Martino della Torre, with Porſenna king of Chiuſi, and with other like princes or ſupreme magiſtrates of the ancient Tuſcans, Latins, Campanians, and Samnites. From which we have ſhewn, that the free and independent cities paſſed ſometimes under the yoke of ſome powerful citizen, who made himſelf its maſter, or under the dominion

dominion of a tyrant of ſome other neighbouring city; ſo that a ſignior Padua, of Milan, or of Verona, obtained the government of many other cities of Lombardy, equally free and independent."

LETTER II.

Machiavel's Plan of a perfect Commonwealth.

Dear Sir,

MACHIAVEL, from his long experience of the miſeries of Florence in his own times, and his knowledge of their hiſtory, perceived many of the defects in every plan of a conſtitution they had ever attempted. His ſagacity too perceived the neceſſity of three powers; but he did not ſee an equal neceſſity for the ſeparation of the executive power from the legiſlative. The following project contains excellent obſervations, but would not have remedied the evils. The appointment of officers in the council of a thouſand would have ruined all the good effects of the other diviſions of power. There is ſome doubt about the time when it was written: Nerli and Nardi, think it was addreſſed to Clement the Seventh, but the Engliſh editor ſuppoſes it was Leo the Tenth, and his opinion is here followed.—About the year 1519, Leo the Tenth *, being informed the

* Diſcourſe upon the proper Ways and Means of reforming the Government of Florence. Eng. edit. vol. iv. p. 263.

diſcords that were ready to break out in Florence, gave a commiſſion to Machiavel to draw up a plan for the reformation of that ſtate. He executed this commiſſion with great abilities, and the moſt exquiſite ſubtilty of his genius; and produced a model, in the opinion of ſome, of a perfect commonwealth. The ſovereign power is lodged, both of right and in fact, in the citizens themſelves.

"There are three orders of men in every ſtate, and for that reaſon there ſhould be alſo three ranks or degrees in a republic, and no more; nor can that be ſaid to be a true and durable commonwealth, where certain humors and inclinations are not gratified, which otherwiſe muſt naturally end in its ruin. Thoſe who model a commonwealth, muſt take ſuch proviſions as may gratify three ſorts of men, of which all ſtates are compoſed; that is, the high, the middle ſort, and the low."—Machiavel by theſe obſervations demonſtrates, that he was fully convinced of this great truth, this eternal principle, without the knowledge of which every ſpeculation upon government muſt be imperfect, and every ſcheme of a commonwealth eſſentially defective: taking this fundamental principle along with us, let us give an abridgment of this valuable diſcourſe. "The reaſon why Florence has ſo often changed its form of government is, becauſe there never was yet either a commonwealth or monarchy eſtabliſhed there upon true principles: a monarchy cannot be ſtable, where the buſineſs, which ſhould be directed by one, is ſubmitted to the determination of many; nor can a commonwealth be durable where humours are not gratified, which muſt otherwiſe be the ruin of it.—Maſo moulded the republic into a ſort of ariſtocracy,

cracy, vid. Hiſt. of Florence, b. iii. in which there were ſo many defects, that it did not continue above forty years, nor would it have laſted ſo long but for wars, which kept it united. The defects were, that power was continued too long in the ſame perſons: that the elections were ſubject to fraud and underhand practices: there was no check upon the grandees, to deter them from forming parties and factions, which generally are the deſtruction of a ſtate: the ſignori had but little reputation, while they had too much authority; they had a power of taking away the life and property of any citizen without appeal, and of calling the people together to a conference whenever they pleaſed; ſo that inſtead of being a defence and protection to the ſtate, they were rather an inſtrument of its ruin, when they were under the influence of any popular or ambitious man: raw young men, of little experience and abject condition, were introduced into the ſignori; but what was of the laſt conſequence was, that *the people had no ſhare at all in the government.* All theſe defects together occaſioned infinite diſorder and confuſion, and if wars had not kept the ſtate united, it muſt have been diſſolved long before it was.—This form was ſucceeded by that of Coſimo. Afterwards the city endeavoured to reſume the form of a republic, but the meaſures taken were neither calculated to gratify the humours of all the citizens, nor had ſufficient force to correct them: ſo far from being a true and perfect commonwealth, a ſtandard-bearer for life, if an able and bad man, might eaſily have made himſelf abſolute lord; if a weak and good man, he might have been pulled from his ſeat, and that eſtabliſhment overturned. There was not ſtrength

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in that government to ſupport the ſtandard-bearer, if a good man, nor to check and controul him, if a bad one. The reforms which were made were not with any view to the public good, but to ſtrengthen and ſupport different factions in their turns. The ends of faction even were not anſwered, becauſe there was always a diſcontented party, which proved a very powerful inſtrument in the hands of thoſe that were deſirous to effect any change or innovation in the ſtate. No form of government can be deviſed that will be firm and laſting, which is not either a true principality, or a true commonwealth. All intermediate forms between theſe two extremes will be defective; for a principality can only be ruined one way, and that is by deſcending into a commonwealth: the ſame may be ſaid of a commonwealth alſo; for the only way by which it can be ruined is by aſcending to a principality: whereas all intermediate forms may be ruined two ways, i. e. either by aſcending to a principality, or deſcending into a commonwealth, and this is the cauſe of their inſtability. Thoſe who model a commonwealth muſt take ſuch proviſions as may gratify three ſorts of men, of which all ſtates are compoſed, that is, the high, the middle ſort, and the low; and though there is a great equality among the citizens of Florence, yet there are ſome there, who think ſo highly of themſelves, that they would expect to have the precedence of others; and theſe people muſt be gratified in regulating the commonwealth. Theſe people then will never be ſatisfied, if they have not the firſt rank and honours in the commonwealth, which dignity they ought to ſupport by their own perſonal weight and importance. It is abſolutely neceſſary to gratify the ambition of all the three ſeveral

veral ranks of people; which may be done by electing ſixty-five citizens, of not leſs than forty-five years of age, in order to give dignity to the government, fifty-three out of the higeſt claſs and twelve out of the next, who ſhould continue in the adminiſtration for life, ſubject to the following reſtrictions:—In the firſt place, one of them ſhould be appointed ſtandard-bearer of juſtice, for a term of two or three years, if it is not thought proper to appoint one for life: and in the next, the other ſixty-four citizens, already elected ſhould be divided into two diſtinct bodies, each conſiſting of thirty-two; one of which diviſions, in conjunction with the ſtandard-bearer, ſhould govern the firſt year, and the other the next; ſo that they would be changed alternately every year, and all together ſhould be called the ſignori. After this, let the thirty-two be divided into four parts, eight in each; every one of which ſhould reſide three months in its turn with the ſtandard-bearer, in the palace, and not only aſſume the magiſtracy with the uſual forms and ceremonies, but tranſact all the buſineſs which before paſſed through the hands of the ſignori, the council of eight, and the other councils, all which muſt be diſſolved. This ſhould be the firſt member, or rather the head of the ſtate, and by this proviſion the dignity of the ſignori will be reſtored; for as none but men of gravity and authority will ever ſit there, it will be no longer neceſſary to employ private men in the affairs of ſtate (which is always of prejudice to any republic) ſince the thirty-two who are not in office that year may be adviſed with upon occaſion, ſent upon embaſſies, and made uſeful in other functions.—Let us now come to the ſecond order in the ſtate. Since there are three orders of men in every ſtate, there ſhould alſo be three

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ranks or degrees in a republic, and no more; upon which account it is neceſſary, to prevent the confuſion occaſioned of late by the multiplicity of councils in our city, which have been eſtabliſhed, not becauſe they were conducive to good order, but merely to create friends and dependants, and to gratify the humour and ambition of numbers, in a point which yet was of no ſervice to liberty or the public, becauſe they might all be corrupted and biaſſed by party. The council of ſeventy, that of an hundred, and that of the people and commonalty, ſhould all be aboliſhed; and, in the room of them, I would appoint a council of two hundred, every member of which ſhould not be leſs than forty years of age; an hundred and ſixty of them to be taken out of the middle claſs, and the other forty out of the loweſt, but not one out of the ſixty-five. They ſhould alſo continue for life, and be called the council elect; which council, in conjunction with the ſixty-five, ſhould tranſact all the affairs that uſed to be tranſacted by the above-mentioned councils, now ſuppoſed to be aboliſhed, and veſted with the ſame degree of authority, and all the members of it appointed by your holineſs: for which purpoſe, as well as to maintain and regulate theſe proviſions, and others that I ſhall mention hereafter, it is neceſſary that a degree of authority, equal to that of the whole collective body of the people of Florence, ſhould be veſted by a balia in your holineſs, and the cardinal de Medici, during the lives of both; and that the magiſtracy of the eight di guardia, as well as the balia, ſhould be appointed from time to time by your holineſs. It is likewiſe expedient, for the ſupport of your authority, that your holineſs ſhould divide the militia into diſtinct corps, over which

you

you may appoint two commiſſioners, one for each By theſe proviſions two out of the three claſſes may be thoroughly ſatisfied.—It remains now to ſatisfy the third and loweſt rank of the citizens, which conſtitutes the greater part of the people. For this purpoſe it will be neceſſary alſo to revive the council of a thouſand, or at leaſt one of ſix hundred citizens, who ſhould nominate all the magiſtrates and officers, in the ſame manner they uſed to do formerly, except the above ſixty-five, the council of two hundred, the eight di guardia, and the balia. Without ſatisfying the common people, no republic ever yet ſtood upon a ſtable foundation.—The ſtate being thus modelled, no other proviſions would be wanting, if your holineſs and the cardinal were to live for ever; but as you are ſubject to mortality, it is neceſſary, if you would have the republic continue firm and ſtrongly ſupported on every ſide, in ſuch manner that every one may ſee himſelf perfectly ſecure, that there ſhould be ſixteen ſtandard-bearers appointed over the companies of the citizens, which may be done either by your own authority, or by leaving the appointment to the great council, remembering only to increaſe the number of the divieri, aſſiſtants to the gonfalonier and commanding detachments of the people under him, that ſo they may be more ſpread over the city, and that none of the gonfaloniers ſhould be of the ſixty-five. After their appointment, four prevotes ſhould be drawn out of them by lot, and continue in office one month; ſo that at the end of four months they will all have been prevots. Out of theſe four, one ſhould be drawn, to reſide for a week only with the eight ſigniors and the gonfaloniers in the palace; by which rotation all the four will have kept their reſidence there at the end of the month.

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Without the preſence of this officer, the ſaid reſident ſignori ſhould not be allowed to paſs any act; nor ſhould he himſelf have any vote there, but only be a witneſs and inſpector of their proceedings, to which he may be ſuffered to put a ſtop till he was aſked the opinion of all the thirty-two together, and had the matter fully diſcuſſed by them. But even the thirty-two, when all together, ſhould not have power to reſolve upon any thing, except two of the ſaid privots were preſent, who ſhould have no further authority than to put a ſtop to their reſolutions for a time, and report them to the council elect: nor ſhould that council have a power of reſolving upon any thing, except ſix at leaſt of the ſixteen gonfaloniers, and two prevots, were there, who ſhould only have the liberty of taking the matter out of the hands of that council, and referring it to the great council provided that any three of them ſhould think it neceſſary ſo to do; and as to the great council, it would not be allowed to meet, unleſs three of the prevots at leaſt were there, who might give their votes in it like the other citizens. This order ſhould be obſerved after the death of your holineſs and the cardinal, for two reaſons: In the firſt place, that if the ſignori, or other council, ſhould either diſagree in their reſolutions, or attempt any thing againſt the public good, there might be ſomebody veſted with a power to take the matter out af their hands, and refer it to the people; for *it would be a great defect in the conſtitution, that any one ſet of magiſtrates, or ſingle council, ſhould have a power to paſs a law by its own authority alone, and that too without any remedy or appeal*: upon which account it is highly neceſſary that the citizens ſhould have ſome proper officers, not only to inſpect their proceedings,

but

but even to put a ſtop to them, if they ſeem to be of pernicious tendency.

" Beſides this, in order to give ſuch a degree of ſtability and perfection to the commonwealth, that no part of it may ſhrink or fail after the deceaſe of your holineſs and the cardinal, it is neceſſary that a court ſhould be erected upon occaſion, conſiſting of the eight di guardia and a balia of thirty citizens, to be choſen by lot out of the council of two hundred, and that of ſix hundred together; which court ſhould have a power, in criminal caſes, of ſommoning the accuſer and accuſed to appear face to face before it in a certain time. Such a court is of great uſe in a commonwealth: for a few citizens are afraid to call great and powerful delinquents to account, and therefore it is neceſſary that many ſhould concur for that purpoſe, that ſo, when their judgments are concealed, as they may be by balloting, every man may give his opinion freely and in ſecurity. The higheſt honour that can be attained to by any man, is that which is voluntarily conferred on him by his countrymen; and the greateſt good he can do, as well as the moſt acceptable to God, is that which he does to his country. None are to be compared to thoſe who have reformed kingdoms and commonwealths by wholeſome laws and conſtitutions; but as there have been but few that have had an opportunity to do this, the number is very ſmall that have done it. This kind of glory has always been ſo much coveted by ſuch as made glory the ſole end of their labours, that when they have not had power either to found or reform a ſtate, they have left models and plans in writing, to be executed by others, who ſhould have, in future times; as Plato, Ariſtotle, and many others, who have ſhewn, that if they did not found free

ſtates themſelves, like Solon and Lycurgus, it was not owing either to ignorance or want of good-will to mankind, but to want of power. Heaven then cannot beſtow a noble gift upon any man, nor point out a fairer road to true glory.

"If things continue as they are, whenever any commotion or inſurrection ſhall happen, either ſome head will be appointed in a ſudden and tumultuary manner, who will reſcue the ſtate by violence and force of arms, or one part of the citizens will open the council of a thouſand again, and ſacrifice the other without mercy. In caſe either of theſe events ſhould happen, your holineſs will be pleaſed to conſider how many executions, how many baniſhments and confiſcations muſt of neceſſity enſue: a reflection which muſt ſurely ſhock the moſt hard-hearted man alive, much more a man of that remarkable humanity and tenderneſs which have always diſtinguiſhed your holineſs. The only way then to prevent theſe evils, is to eſtabliſh the ſeveral claſſes and ordinances of the commonwealth in ſuch a manner that they may ſupport themſelves; and that they will always be able to do, when each rank has its due ſhare in the adminiſtration, when every one knows his proper ſphere of action, and whom he can conſide in; and laſtly, when no one has any occaſion to wiſh for a change of government, either becauſe his ambition is not thoroughly gratified, or that he does not think himſelf ſufficiently ſecure under ſuch an adminiſtration."

LETTER

LETTER III.

Dear Sir,

THE antiquity of the city of Siena is proved by the notice of Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, if not by another circumſtance mentioned by its hiſtorian, viz. the ſpendor of certain families among its citizens *, nobility being only an ancient virtue accompanied with the ſplendor of riches. The tradition, that it was firſt planted by Remus, can hardly be ſupported by the ſingle circumſtance, that the enſigns of the city are a wolf giving ſuck to two infants.

Siena was built by the ancient Tuſcans, whoſe province was anciently inhabited by the Umbrians, who were driven out by the Pelaſgians from Arcadia, who were afterwards driven out by the Lydians from Aſia, five hundred and ſixty years before Rome was built. Theſe, from Tirrhenius their king, were called afterwards Tirrhenians; and becauſe they uſed in their ſacrifices great quantities of frankincenſe. *Thus*, they were called Thuſcans, and their country Tuſcany, by others called Etruria †. Livy repreſents the Etrurians as abounding in wealth, and filling the whole length of Italy, from the Alps to the ſtraits of Sicily, with their fame; and in another place repreſents the Tuſcan empire as much more ancient then the Roman ‡. They inhabited

* Siena dallo ſplendore delle famiglie s'era nobilitata,—eſſendo proprio la nobilità una antica virtu accompagnata dallo ſplendore delle richazze. Hiſtoria del. Sig. Orlando Malavolti, de fatti, e Guerre de' Saneſi, coſi eſterni, come civili, p. 4. † Malavolti, p. 9. 10.

‡ Tuſcorum, ante Romanorum imperium fere terra, marique opes patuere; mari ſupero inferoque, quibus Italia, inſulæ modo cingitur.——Il in verumque mare vergentes incaluere urbibus duodenis.

twelve cities, the form of their government was a confederacy, like that of the modern Swiſs, Dutch and Americans. The twelve cities, peoples, or diviſions of territory rather, where called Lucumoni, from the magiſtrates annually choſen to govern the whole province of Tuſcany. Twelve annual magiſtrates were choſen, one by each city, to govern the whole province, called Lartes and Lucumones: the names of theſe cities were Luna, Piſa, Populonia, Volterra, Roſelle, Fieſole, Agillina, Vulſino, Chiuci, Arezzo, Perugia, and Faleria, the ruins of which are near to Viterbo. In the ſame manner was formed afterwards, by the Greeks, the republic of the Achaians, the twelve cities of which are enumerated by Polybius. Not unlike this republic of the Tuſcans was that of the Latins, who, upon public occaſions, aſſembled in a certain place under mount Albanus, called the foreſt of Ferentina; where, having deliberated in council upon their affairs, they gave the charge of the execution of their reſolutions to two prætors*. It is true that ſometimes, at the exchange of magiſtrates, the Tuſcans, varying the form of their government, by agreement among themſelves created a king; and each one of the twelve peoples of the twelve principal cities concurred to give him a miniſter, whom the Romans afterwards denominated a lictor: and of ſo much grandeur, and ſo illuſtrious an example, were the government, the ceremonies, the religion, and the other qualities of the Tuſcans, that Romulus, in imitation of them, in giving laws to the Romans

* Conſilium Latinorum erat ut omnes Latini nominis rerum communium cauſa ad Lucum Ferentinæ, qui erat ſub monte Albano, coirent, ebique de ſumma rep. conſultarent, ac duobus prætoribus rem univerſam Latinorum committerent. Sigonius upon the authority of Dionyſius.

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ordained, beſides the habit of the robe and the cloak, the curule chair, and the ſame number of miniſters, determining upon the ſame number of lictors. This is told us by Livy: "Et hoc genus ab Etruſcis finittimis unde ſella curulis, unde toga, prætexta ſumpta eſt, numerum quoque ipſum ductum placet, et ita habuiſſe Etruſcus, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege ſingulos ſinguli populi lictores dederint." With this mode of regimen, and this form of government, with their union and virtue, the Tuſcans augmented ſo greatly their empire, that it extended to the Alps, which ſeparate Italy from France, and from one ſea to the other; one of which was named from them the Tuſcan, and the other the Adriatic, from the city Adria, which was their colony, and under their dominion. Having acquired all that part of Italy, which was afterwards called Ciſalpine Gaul, in order to hold it more ſecurely, and give room to their people, by relieving Tuſcany of ſo great a number of inhabitants, they ſent into it twelve colonies. In this manner they proceeded, augmenting and amplifying their empire on every ſide, for ſeven hundred and thirty years, until, in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, the Gauls took poſſeſſion of that part of Italy, which they called Ciſalpine Gaul, one part of which was afterwards called Lombardy, and the other Romagna. Then began to decline the empire of the Tuſcans; becauſe on one ſide they were combated by the Gauls, and on the other by the Romans; and having commenced, by the abundance of wealth, to become ambitious and avaricious, and diſcord among themſelves following the train of thoſe vices, changed the form of their government, and deſtroyed their proſperity; and this empire, which, by its union and good order,

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had formed itſelf, and, computing from its beginning to its diſſolution, ſubſiſted more than a thouſand years, loſt itſelf eaſily by means of contentions, occaſioned by habits inconſiſtent with that virtue by which they had acquired it. Their ſtate, diſpoſſeſſed by the Gauls of all its territory beyond the Appennines, and continually moleſted in Tuſcany by the Romans, was no longer united in the defence of each other, by reaſon of the variety which they begun to introduce into the form of government in the ſeparate cities, occaſioned by their ambition, avarice, and luxury; vices inconſiſtent with each other, but very powerful to ruin a great empire. When they ſaw the moſt manifeſt danger of the ruin of the whole, they exerted all their force, but were no longer able to defend themſelves. The other Tuſcans, from an indignation againſt the Veientes for having ſeparately elected a king, looked on with indifference while the Romans ſubjected that people. Livy ſays, the Veientes, to avoid the tedious contentions of ambition, which was ſometimes the cauſe of diſſenſions, created a king, and thus gave great offence to the other peoples of Etruria, not more by their hatred of that form of government, than from their deteſtation of the man*.

Tuſcany was finally ſubjected to the dominion of the Romans, after long wars, many victories and defeats, and the deſtruction of a great number of their citizens, by Q. Fabius Maximus Rutilianus. The Romans, to ſecure the province againſt rebellions and tumults, ſent into it a colony; and finding Siena in the centre of the twelve

* Veientes contra tedio ambitiones, quæ interdum cauſa diſcordiarum erat, regem creavere, offendit ea res populorum Etruriæ animos, non majore odio regni, quam ipſius regis. Livy.

cities,

cities, and the ſituation ſtrong, ſent thither their colony and garriſon, under the firſt conſulate of Curius Dentatus, two hundred and ninety years before Chriſt. The Tuſcans remained quietly under the government of the Romans, until the invaſion of Italy by Aſdrubal, when they were accuſed of having held a ſecret correſpondence, and given aſſiſtance to the Carthaginians. After that great victory of the Romans, in which Aſdrubal with fifty-ſix thouſand of his men, was ſlain, they ſent Marcus Livius to Tuſcany, to enquire which of the peoples of the twelve cities had aſſiſted the Carthaginians, who reported that he found nothing againſt any of the inhabitants of Siena. Tranquility thus reſtored, continued under the Roman government till the ſocial war, when the inhabitants of almoſt all Italy waged war with the Romans for the privileges of Roman citizens. This war coſt the lives of an incredible number of men, and ended with the ruin of Arezzo and Chiuci, two of the principal cities of Tuſcany, from whence many families removed to Siena, as a place of more ſecurity, both on account of its being a Roman colony, and as it had ever diſcovered more fidelity to the Romans than any other Tuſcan city. We may paſs over the converſion of Conſtantine, in a dream of a ſtandard (gonfalone), with the motto *en touto nika*; his diviſion of the empire, by retiring to Byzantium, into two, the Grecian and Roman, or Eaſtern and Weſtern; the decline of the weſtern empire; the capture of Rome by Alaric king of the Goths, in 412; the ſacking of Rome by Odoacer king of the Erulians and Thuringians, in 475, the firſt of the barbarous kings, who drove out Auguſtulus, annihilated the empire, and made himſelf king of Italy, and ſo eſtabliſhed his power, that the weſtern empire remained

remained vacant for three hundred years, till the time of Charlemain, though Juſtin, after the victories of Belliſarius and Narſette over the Goths, ſent Longinus into Italy with the title of exarch, a kind of firſt magiſtrate which continued one hundred and ſeventy years, through a ſucceſſion of thirteen exarchs. Longinus having found that the ſeveral cities had undertaken to govern themſelves, each one having created its own magiſtrates, ſent a governor appointed by himſelf, not to rule generally in the province, but one in each city of any conſiderable conſequence. To theſe governors he gave a new name, that of dukes. The firſt that he ſent to Rome was called a preſident, but thoſe who ſucceeded him were called dukes like the reſt. This title of duke, from the name of a military office was reduced to the name of a dignity, which, at this day, is the principal one in Europe after the royal dignity. And thus, all the time that Narſette remained in Rome, after the expulſion of the Oſtrogoths, the cities of Tuſcany governed themſelves by their own magiſtrates, acknowledging no ſuperior, until the arrival of Longinus in 566, who with his new governors or dukes, debilitated the forces, and deſtroyed the reputation of the empire, and the confidence of the people in their own militia, to ſuch a degree, that the Longobards, under Albinus their king found it eaſy to ruin Tuſcany, which they conquered, plundered, and oppreſſed, ſometimes by the general power of their kings, and ſometimes their dukes, ſent to command in particular cities. Theſe Lombards, from their proud hatred of the Romans, endeavoured every where to change the laws, cuſtoms, manners, and eſpecially the language: in their time the Latin language in Italy was corrupted into that ſpeech which

which is now called the Italian, which is no other than the Latin corrupted by a mixture of the barbarous ſpeech of thoſe very Lombards, and ſome other nations, who after them governed in Italy; as the French and Spaniſh are ſimilar corruptions of the Latin, the firſt by a mixture with the language of the Franks, and the laſt of the Viſigoths and other barbarians. The Lombards held the domination of the major part of Italy more than two hundred years, when they were totally ſubdued. Deſiderius, who had been duke of Tuſcany, and afterwards made king of Italy, was the laſt Lombard king, and was totally defeated, and ſent priſoner to Lyons, in France, by Charlemain, in 773. This great monarch having taken Pavia, which was the principal city and royal reſidence of the kings of the Lombards, proceeded to many other ſtrong places, which were held by governors of caſtles and garriſons in the ſervice of the king, or of particular lords of theſe places; thoſe which ſurrendered, and ſwore obedience, were left under the command of their lords, but thoſe which reſiſted, and were reduced by force, were given by Charlemain to ſome of his barons or nobles, in reward of the ſervices, virtues, and merits they had ſhewn in the courſe of the war. More of the cities of Tuſcany defended themſelves than of any other parts of Italy, becauſe they were better fortified, and therefore more French noblemen were planted here: theſe marrying with original families in Siena, from thoſe matches have iſſued the greateſt part of the noble families which have been, and ſtill are, in that city. They continued afterwards, many hundreds of years, to be lords of the ſame caſtles, until, by continual diſcords, many families not only loſt their eſtates and commands, but became extinct, as will be

ſhewn in the ſequel. Charles, for the greatneſs of his ſoul, and the multitude of his victories, received the ſurname of Magnus, and was made Roman emperor. As Longinus had brought into Italy the title of dukes, the Lombards thoſe of marquiſes and caſtaldi or bailiffs, the French now imported that of counts. Charlemain having arranged all things to his mind in Italy, ſet out on his journey to return; and paſſing through Siena, and being moved with the relation which he heard from thoſe noblemen whom he had left there, of the fidelity and other good qualities of that people, and being touched alſo by their petitions, he made them free, and determined that they ſhould not be ſubjected to the king, or any other power. This is the reaſon that in the diviſion of Tuſcany, afterwards made between Louis the Pious and Paſchal the pope, in which it was declared that Arezzo, Chiuli, Volterra, Florence, Piſtoia, Lucca, Piſa, and Luna, ſhould be reſerved to the emperor, and Orvieto, Bagnarea, Viterbo, Sovana, Populonia, Roſella, Perugia, Sutri, and Nepi, ſhould belong to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, that Siena is not found among the former or the latter: being free and independent, it was left in the enjoyment of its liberty; and as the nobles had procured from Charlemain ſo great a favour, the people, in gratitude to them, and ignorant no doubt of any better form, left the government to them, and ſuffered an optimacy to be eſtabliſhed. Siena was a long time governed by theſe noblemen, and, as long as the ſignori conſiſted of theſe ſucceſſors of Charlemain in Italy and the empire; all remained quiet in this city, as well as in the reſt of Italy. This tranquility continued to the time of Arnulphus, the laſt emperor of the houſe of France, who was approved by the pope.

At

At this time ambition, diſcontent, and ill humour, began to ariſe in Italy, from the weakneſs of the ſucceſſors of Charlemain; and Berengarius duke of Friuli, and Guido duke of Spoletta, aſpiring at the empire and the kingdom of Italy, took arms againſt the emperor; and Berengarius ſucceeded, declared himſelf emperor, and, by the favour of the Roman people, was made king of Italy in which dignities he was ſucceded by Berengarius the Second and the Third. A conteſt, however, aroſe between the princes of Italy, France, and Germany, for the empire and the kingdom of Italy, which continued ſixty years; and a Saracen invaſion having been defeated by Albericus, he was declared by the pope duke of Tuſcany, and acknowledged no ſuperiority in the emperor, or France. Contentions ſoon aroſe between him and the pope; and the Hungarians taking advantage of them, made inroads into Italy, plundered Tuſcany, and ruined Volterra. The Romans, judging this calamity to proceed from the diſcords between the pope and Albericus, aſſaſſinated both. Such was the malignity of theſe times, and Chriſtian princes had deviated ſo far from a virtuous conduct, and became a prey to ambition, avarice, and pleaſure (powerful miniſters at all times of every kind of wickedneſs), that determined, by means even of their vices, and with the higheſt impudence, to occupy thoſe dignities which their anceſtors had acquired by religion, charity, and every Chriſtian virtue, they devoted themſelves to continual diſcords and bloody wars among themſelves; and the people, after their example, having adopted their follies and vices, and embroiled themſelves in the ſame diſſenſions, found themſelves ruined: for, having neither forces nor virtues to defend their country, the Hungarians committed,

committed in a ſhort ſpace of time, greater ravages in Tuſcany than the other barbarous nations had been able to do in 300 years. The Saracens too, or Moors, broke in and deſtroyed the ſea coaſt of Siena, took Jeruſalem and Spain, until they were defeated by Charles Martel in Italy, in 930, and by Ferdinand the Third in Spain, in 1216. The city of Roſella was ruined by the Saracens, and its inhabitants fled to Siena, which made it neceſſary to enlarge the bounds of the city, and take in the ancient caſtle Montone, built at the time of the king Porſenna of Chiuſi, who, deſirous of aſſiſting Tarquin the Proud in his reſtoration to Rome, ſent to his aid two hundred infantry, and fifty cavalry; the former, taken from the caſtle Montone, were commanded by Bacco Piccolomo; and the latter, taken from the Old Caſtle, by Perinto Cacciaconte: from theſe two captains are deſcended the two moſt ancient families in Siena, thoſe of the Piccolomini, and thoſe of the Cacciaconti. Otho, the firſt emperor of the German nation, but the ſecond of that name, expelled the laſt of the Saracens, and left an officer in Tuſcany, who governed it in his name with the title of vicar of the empire.

The ſucceſſors of Otha followed the ſame practice; but Siena, by the indulgence of Otho, maintained its independence under the government of its nobles, and its liberty was afterwards, by Otho the Third of the German nation, who had been ſerved in his enterpriſe by a company of gentlemen from Siena, confirmed with ample privileges, and preſented with a new enſign of the white lion. Both the firſt and the third Otho left many of their gentlemen in Siena, from whom are deſcended ſeveral of the noble and powerful families in that city,

city, where they ſupported themſelves a long time, behaving virtuouſly and honourably in the ſervice of their country. All the inhabitants of the city and territory, living then in union and harmony, were comprehended under the name of the People which has ſince, from a general denomination, become a particular and peculiar name of a faction called Popolo, the citizens being divided into parties. Although the body of the city increaſed on every ſide, both in numbers and riches, it was nevertheleſs unable to inlarge its boundaries or extend its juriſdiction: for having on one hand the lands of the church, and on the other the territories of the emperor, it could not be beyond its own limits. At this time where introduced much induſtry, and many artificers, in conſequence of an extenſive commerce. Beſides other noblemen, the count Bandinello de Bandinelli, having agents and coreſpondents in many parts of the Levant, imported large merchandiſes, to his own great profit as well as the public utility, employing and maintaining a multitude of people in every kind of labour, and was in a great meaſure the inſtrument of directding this people to merchandiſe. The ſame count Bandinello, moreover, being conſul, and deſirous of diſplaying the conſular dignity and authority, gave orders that two commanders, or officers, on all occaſions of ſolemnity or ceremony ſhould go before the conſuls, with thoſe maces in their hands, and thoſe fringes at their breaſts, after the ſimilitude of the lictors, who walked with their bundles rods and with their axes before the conſuls of Rome. He alſo ordered, that to the trumpets ſhould be fixed theſe ſtreamers of white and black taffety, which have been ever ſince uſed by all the ſupreme magiſtrates who have ſucceeded in the place of the conſuls, and as the

fifers

fifers and trumpeters, with the reſt of the family and ſervants of the magiſtrate, in modern times, in the public palace, are cloathed in blue and green.

About the year 1059 contentions aroſe between the emperor Henry the Third, and the pope, who decreed him an enemy to the church, and interdicted him his empire and kingdom; which quarrel was the reaſon that the cities of Tuſcany began to be agitated with ſeditions, ſome of them declaring in favour of the emperor, and others, rebelling againſt him, reduced themſelves to republican governments, and attached themſelves to the pope, hoping by his aſſiſtance to defend themſelves againſt the emperor, who would have oppreſſed them. From this diviſion originated the deſire in the minds of the people to increaſe their forces, that they might the more eaſily reſiſt the emperor if he ſhould invade Tuſcany with a deſign of reducing them to his obedience. To this end every city and caſtle endeavoured to make itſelf maſter of thoſe in its neighbourhood, or at leaſt to draw them to its alliance, which involved them in frequent wars, and was the original of thoſe diſcords and enmities with which proved the Tuſcany were long agitated, and which proved the ruin of ſome, though it augmented the greatneſs of others. The Italians having remained long under the obedience of the German emperors, and having very rarely been employed in their wars, either by them or their captains, neglected, in ſo long and inactive a kind of ſervitude, the regulations of their militia: but now, in danger of oppreſſion from Conrad the Firſt, the cities, in order to defend themſelves, ordered a kind of chariot to be built, and called it the Triumphal Chariot, covered with roſe-coloured cloth, with a large

ſpear

ſpear in the centre, on which was diſplayed a white ſtandard, with two ſcarlet ſtripes, in a croſs, at the middle of it; and on every ſide of the carriage ſtood a man, who held in his hand a cord faſtened to the top of the ſpear, that neither the force of the wind nor the weight of the ſtandard might incline one way or another. The chariot was drawn by oxen covered with white, although they varied the colours according to the prevalence of factions in the city. The care and command of this chariot was given to one of the moſt experience and ability in war, who became their captain; and to him, for the purpoſe of increaſing his authority, was given by the public a ſhield and a ſword. But in the times which followed after the emperor Frederick the firſt, this office was called podeſta *; and he was accompanied with eight trumpets, and one prieſt. In this manner the cities of Lombardy, as well as Tuſcany, ſent out their people to war, without entertaining any ſoldiers in pay: for thoſe who were ordered out to war in thoſe times, in Italy, went at their own expence, ſo great was their affection to their country, as in the beginning the Romans did; wherever the triumphal chariot was found, there were the head quarters of the captain, like the prætors among the ancients. With this manner of making war, confiding in the power of the faction they followed, and living by plunder, each city was ambitious, by force and by fraud, to increaſe its dominion, and declined no opportunity which occurred of oppoſing themſelves obſtinately to the moſt powerful princes and veteran armies, for the defence of their own dignity, and

* The Italian writers in Latin call this office and officer, both by the name of poteſtas.

that

that of the party to which they were devoted. Deriving from theſe motives, and from ſucceſsful enterpriſes great courage and ardour, when Henry the Third, with his antipope, beſieged Gregory the ſeventh in his caſtle, and, for fear of Robert Guiſcard on his march to ſuccour the pope, retired to Siena, Florence took the part of the pope, and Siena and that of the emperor, and from this principle aroſe that irreconcileable hatred and enmity between theſe cities, which laſted ſo long, and produced ſo much war and bloodſhed. Upon this occaſion a memorable battle was fought, and a ſignal victory obtained, by the army of Siena over that of Florence. Certain perſons in this engagement had been the firſt to begin the action, and behaved themſelves ſo bravely in it, that it was adjudged that their conduct had been the principal cauſe of putting to flight the Florentines. The republic, in reward of their merit, and to incite and inflame by this example the minds of others to act nobly in the ſervice of their country, erected, by a public decree, a very high tower by the ſides of their houſes. The Greeks and Romans uſed to honour, by decreeing ſtatues to thoſe who performed ſimilar atchievements in the ſervice of the republic, rendering by this means their memories immortal; and they were more or leſs honoured according to the poſition in which the ſtatue was placed, and the height and grandeur of the ſtatue itſelf: wherefore they made ſome larger, and others ſmaller; ſome on horſeback, others on the ground; and to make the glory of others ſtill more illuſtrious, they ſought the moſt eminent artiſts, and placed the ſtatues on columns *, know-

* Columnarum ratio erat attolli ſupra cæteros mortales. Pliny.

ing

ing that columns, anciently dedicated to men, were marks of honour, and conſpicuous tokens of immortal glory;—and moved by thoſe ancient examples, thoſe who governed the city of Siena having, by the long domination of the barbarians in Italy loſt the arts of ſculpture and painting, which were held in ſo high eſtimation by the ancients, as well as by the modern civilized nations, and not being able, for want of artiſts, to make ſtatues or columns to honour theſe brave and virtuous cititizens, ordered thoſe towers to be built. After which precedent, for ſimilar merits and ſervices, afterwards many others were erected; among which was built by the public that of the Malavolti, in memory of the virtue of Philip Malavolti, captain of Siena in the Chriſtian army of Clement the Third. This, like many others which had been raiſed before, was habitable; and although they were erected only as memorials of the honour due to greatneſs of ſoul, they were employed very often afterwards as fortifications for offence and defence, by the ſeveral parties, in their civil wars; and permiſſion was afterwards granted by the public, to many gentlemen to build towers at their own expenſe, as teſtimonials of the nobility and ſplendour of their families: and, until long afterwards they were taken down by order of Charles the Fifth, and the materials employed in a caſtle which that tyrant built for himſelf, they were ſo large and ſo high, as to be ſeen from a great diſtance, and made a moſt beautiful appearance.—In the union of the Chriſtian princes, in 1099, againſt the Saracens, and in the army engaged in the enterpriſe againſt Jeruſalem, the city of Siena had a thouſand men, under the command of Dominick and Boniface Gricci, noblemen of Siena. Henry the fourth, after the death of Henry the

Third, coming to Rome for the crown, in 1100, and renewing the diſcords with the pope Paſcal the Second, and Gelaſius his ſucceſſor, and marching to Rome with his armies, excited afreſh the ill humours in Tuſcany: but theſe not having much energy, did not at that time produce effects of much moment; yet, ſtirred up from time to time by the diſcords among the great princes, and other accidents, though they ſeemed at times to be quieted, they broke out again and were never wholly extinguiſhed; they rather proceeded to increaſe, and at laſt diſcovering themſelves with greater malignity, they grew, from particular diſputes between one city and another, to the moſt general and ſanguinary factions of all, or the greateſt part of the territory of Tuſcany, and all the reſt of Italy, making alliance among one another of thoſe who were of the ſame faction, againſt other leagues among the factions who were their enemies. One party having taken the name of Guelphs, and the other of Ghibellines, theſe parties and diviſions were not only between one people and another, but, to complete the ruin and deſtruction, they entered into the ſame city, and ſometimes into the ſame family, till there was not a ſpot of earth to be found whoſe inhabitants were not divided, and on which the citizens did not frequently meet in arms againſt each other; as it happened in 1137, and in 1147, between the noble houſes in Siena, in which private intereſts and party affections had infinitely more energy than thoſe of the publick. Although the nobles had ſo long governed and preſerved this republic in peace, now blinded by ambition they moſt imprudently ſuffered themſelves to be led by it. Theſe civil diſcords having entered, and being increaſed and artificially fomented

mented by the heads of thoſe plebeians who had attached themſelves, ſome to one nobleman and ſome to another, in the city, they began by violence to endeavour to expel one another alternately from the city *. By this means, coming freqnently to blows, and meetings often in arms, they gave occaſion to the plebeians, who wiſhed for nothing ſo much, to ſtudy the means, by little and little, of taking the government out of their hands, in the firm hope of being able to obtain it to themſelves, if not intirely, at leaſt in part; for the gentlemen being in arms, and each party afraid of being overcome by the other, ſtrove to acquire freinds and adherents among the plebeians, whom by a more decent appellation they now called the People. That they might be able, with ſtronger forces, to conquer their enemies, or at leaſt ſecure themſelves from being conquered by them, neither party was willing, by refuſing the people a ſhare in the government, to make them their enemies. They agreed therefore to give them a third part: wherfore, when they firſt appointed two conſuls of noble houſes, who ſhould annually govern the public, it was ordained, that for the future they ſhould appoint three, two of them to be noblemen taken from each faction, and the third from the people; and ſometimes they made the number ſix, obſerving the ſame diſtribution and this is the reaſon why many perſons have believed that certain families, which at this day are of the other of the nine †, finding that their anceſtors were made conſuls in thoſe times, were originally noble, and that their anceſtors were of the order of gentlemen, not knowing that the people,

* Plebs eſt cæteri cives ſine ſenatore. De Verb. Signif. † Dell ordine de nove.

from

from whom the order of nine had their original, participated at that time, by a third part, in the government, and that from ſome of thoſe popular families, who held at that time the conſulate, are deſcended thoſe of the nine. The nobles, who at this day are denominated in Siena gentlemen, and who anciently, being very powerful, were ſometimes called grandees, are ſprung from a part of thoſe ancient families, who in the firſt inſtitution and ordination of the republic took upon them the government, which, with large additions to the city and its dominions, they held till the year 1137, when the plebeians, or more properly the people, firſt began to enter into a ſhare of the government of the ſtate and police of the city: by this means, although thoſe who had been in public offices and dignities had acquired nobility to their deſcendants, they had not however aſſumed the name of nobles or of gentlemen. Although in Siena, as well as in all the other cities of Tuſcany, the factions of the nobles and the people long prevailed, they followed, as the moſt favourable and leaſt invidious, the name of popular; and thus leaving uncorrupted the antient nobility, perhaps to avoid the diſtinction of greater or leſs nobility, like that of nobles and patricians among the Romans, applying themſelves to their factions, by the orders of which, at different times, they began to create nobles, the people in proceſs of time divided themſelves into three parties, one of which was called the people of the ſmaller number, who were thoſe of the order of the nine; the ſecond, the people of the middle number, who were called the order of the twelve; and the third, the people of the greater number, who were called the order

order of reformers, who, as all the leſſer people* concurred, with ſome of the ancient houſe, under this denomination, were the moſt numerous, as will be largely ſhewn in its proper place. After theſe three popular factions, were created, out of thoſe who were afterwards accepted into the government, and acquired the civil rights, together with thoſe few houſes who would not follow the above-named factions, another order, which was called the order of the people; and theſe, however have been ennobled, took the name of no other faction but the popular: as anciently in Rome it happened, that the patricians and ancient nobles had always the name of nobles, and the plebeians, ſo called by the Romans, although they had been conſuls and dictators, and had enjoyed triumphs, were for ever called plebeians, until by Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus, and Claudius, the emperors, ſome families were added to the number of patricians. The greater part of the families of nobles, who by Romulus were denominated the greater race, and of thoſe who were added by Tarquinius Priſcus, and were afterwards by Lucius Brutus called the leſſer race, being already extinguiſhed, this diſtinction was preſerved in the Roman ſenate, where the fathers were underſtood to be thoſe who were of patrician houſes, and fathers conſcript thoſe who had been added and recorded in the number of ſenators; and thus ſometimes plebeians, by conceſſions of princes, acquired the names of nobles. Theſe orders were in all reſpects contrary to thoſe which were uſed at this time in the cities of Tuſcany, which, being governed by the multitude, did not admit the

* Il popolo minuto.

nobles

nobles to honours, nor to the adminiſtration of the republic, if firſt renouncing their nobility, they did not acquire the privilege of being of the people; ſuch was in that age the odium againſt the name of nobles among thoſe who governed the republics of Tuſcany, from the jealouſy and terror that were entertained of their greatneſs: and this we may well ſuppoſe was the great reaſon why thoſe firſt popular characters, and the others who followed after them, did not care to acquire the name of noblemen or gentlemen; on the contrary they exerted themſelves with all deligence, by the laws and by all their actions, by extermination and diſtruction of one family after another, to deſtroy totally the memory of all the noble houſes of the gentlemen, in ſuch manner that the greateſt part of them are extinguiſhed. Among the few that remained were the Biſdomini, the Tegolei, the Floridi, who were original inhabitants of the city, and lived in that third part of it which was called the Old Caſtle with many other noble families which are enumerated. In another third part of the city, named the third of Saint Martin inhabited the noble families of Jazzani, Trombetti, Guaſtelloni, Sanſedonii, and others: in the remaining third, called the third of Camullia, lived the Gallerani, Scricciuoli, Arzochii, Mignanelli, &c. There was another diſtinction of five families, who were counts, and lived indifferently in any part of the town, who were called the greater houſes, as the counts Ardengheſci, Guiglieſchi, Scialenga, Cacciaconti, and Valcorteſe. There were other families who, becauſe very numerous, had the privilege of having two members from each family in the magiſtracy, while the other could have but one, as the Piccolomini, Tolommei, Malavolti, Salembeni, and Saraceni;

Saraceni ; and in the ſame proportion they might have ſeats in the council of a hundred gentlemen, to whom where added, in this reform of the ſtate, fifty popular members. This council was renewed once in two years, and ſometimes every year ; and was elected by the general council, one member from each family, with ample authority. In this council, which was to aſſemble at leaſt once a month, they conſulted of all affairs of the moſt ſerious nature and the greateſt importance. Under this form of government Siena continued for ſome time, and following the imperial party, they meditated to poſſeſs themſelves of the caſtle of Radicofani, then poſſeſſed by the church, pretending that it had been given to the biſhop and people of Siena by the count Manente di Viconti di Campiglia' before 1138 ; but this expedition failed. Int his year the inhabitants of Siena and Aretini united with Conti Guidi, whoſe caſtle of Monte alla Croce they relieved from a ſiege of the Florentines. The Conti Guidi were lords of many caſtles in Caſentino, and one part of Valdarno, and had been decorated with the title of counts by Otho the emperor, after he had liberated Italy from the lordſhip of Berengarius the Third, when one of the family who came with him from Germany married a lady of Florence, from which marriage deſcended the houſe of Conti Guidi. We may paſs over the bloody wars and variety of victories and defeats between theſe two cities of Siena and Florence ; but when Frederick Barbaroſſa came into Italy they made a truce, and new laws and confederations were made between the people of Tuſcany. The Florentines, Lucheſe, Pratinſians, and lords of Carfagna, entered into one league ; and the inhabitants of Siena, Piſa, Piſtoia, and Aretina, and the Conti Guidi

into

into another; and becauſe the Sieneſe had ſhewn themſelves, in the diſſenſions which had happened in times paſt between the popes and the emperors, favourable to the empire, the pope Adrian, attentive to the arrival of Frederick, with much ſolicitude completed the fortreſs, and part of the walls of the territory of Radicofani. In 1154. Frederick was crowned at Rome, after long diſputes with the Romans, and returned to Germany in 1155. The Sieneſe, by the ſimilitude of affections, being of the ſame faction, acquired a juriſdiction over Poggibonzi, an eighth part of which caſtle had been given them by the count Guido Guerra. This caſtle was afterwards, in 1268, taken by Charles king of Naples, and given to the Florentines, and by them demoliſhed, as always friendly or ſubject to the Sieneſe, and a receptacle of Ghibellines.

In 1158 Frederick came a ſecond time into Italy. The Sieneſe, being in difference with the count of Orgia, and other lords their neighbours, who held many ſtrong caſtles very near to Siena, ſome of which were demoliſhed by the Sieneſe, the lords of theſe caſtles where deſirous of rebuilding them; but Frederick granted to the Sieneſe the privilege, that neither thoſe counts, nor any other lords, nor their ſucceſſors, ſhould rebuild any caſtle, or fortreſs, within twelve miles of their city. As it is a ſketch of the laws, their viciſſitudes and variations, that we are attempting, we have nothing to do with wars or diſputes between popes and antipopes, the church and the empire, not with the acceſſions of Staggia or Orgia to Siena. In 1167 Frederick returns to Italy, and confirms all the privileges and donations which had been before made to Siena. The fourth, fifth, and ſixth journey to Italy, and all the

the wars, and truces, and peaces, between Florence and Siena, may likewiſe be omitted; though in the laſt, which was in 1184, he found enemies in the Sieneſe, his old friends. According to ſome writers, this ſtrange revolution was in 1186, and the cauſes of it deſerve to be examined and explained *.

Charlemain, as has been before related, left the government of Siena in a ſingle aſſembly of hereditary nobles, who no doubt, as they had procured the independence of the city by their intereſt and interceſſion, thought it their own, and entailed on their poſterity for ever. While the people conſidered theſe rulers as their benefactors, to whom they owed ſo much; while the nobles were united, and the city continued with conſtancy faithful to the emperors, all went ſmoothly on; at leaſt no hiſtory appears to the contrary: but in a courſe of time, when the nobles became divided into parties, each of which courted the people, not ſo much from humanity, patriotiſm, or love of liberty and equality, as becauſe their bones and ſinews were wanted in the civil wars, the people, with very good reaſon, began to demand a ſhare, and to take a hand in the game. But how? Not in any proportion which could give them a controul, or a power or ſelf-defence, or even much influence; but by claiming one in three conſuls, and fifty in one hundred and fifty ſenators. Abſolute power was ſtill in the noble hundred, and the people, by their members, only became nearer witneſſes of their own inſignificance, and of the arbitrary diſpoſition of their noble maſter. This,

* Malavolti, lib. iv. p. 36. Giovanni Villani Choniche Fiorentine, lib. v. Muratori, Rer. Italic. Scrip. tom. xv. Chronica Saneſe de Andrea Dei. Muratori, Diſſertatione, 50. Muratori, Annal. tom. vii. anno 1186, p. 56.

therefore, of courſe irritated the people, and gave them able leaders, while it increaſed the motives of the factions in each party of the nobles to careſs them ſtill more. In conſequence of this, the public councils and conduct, in 1186, began to be unſteady, and a ſtrong faction appeared for the pope againſt the emperor. Philippo Malavolti, Palmerio Malagalla, and Guido Maizzi, were this year conſuls. The emperor, deſirous of paſſing through the town, the Guelphs had acquired ſo much influence as to ſhut the gates againſt him, and even to attack and defeat his army: but as ſoon as he was prepared to puniſh them for this offence, certain orators were ſent to him, by thoſe in the government, to excuſe the fault, and to beg his pardon. They ſaid, the reſiſtance to his majeſty had been occaſioned by the fury of the people, who aroſe in a tumult very much againſt the will of their governors, who had always been faithfully devoted to him. The emperor received them graciouſly, and confirmed their privileges under ſome ſevere conditions, moved however to this grace, according to the cuſtom of great princes, more by his own intereſt, than by any confidence he had in their profeſſions: but as he was now intent upon an enterpriſe into the Levant againſt the Turks and Saracens, he wiſhed to leave all things in tranquillity in Italy. Intending, on his return, to make himſelf maſter of the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, he was deſirous of preſerving peace in the cities of Italy already friendly to him; and by reconciling the others, to acquire more friends and followers, who might aſſiſt him, and remove all obſtacles to his enterpriſe. With this view he ſent Henry his ſon, already elected king of the Romans, into Italy, with great pomp and authority, who pretended to be

be favourable to the Sieneſe, and granted them the power, under the imperial authority, to elect conſuls, as they had been long uſed to do: but thoſe who ſhould be elected, were obliged to accept the inveſtiture of their conſulate, without expence, from the king himſelf, or the emperor, or their ſucceſſors, if in Italy: if not, from their legate or vicar in Tuſcany: and if there ſhould be no imperial legate in Tuſcany, the conſuls elect were obliged to go in a body, or a part of them, or ſend an ambaſſador, to demand the inveſtiture of the emperor, or whoever ſhould be king of the Romans. In 1187 Jeruſalem was beſieged by Saladin; and Siena ſent five hundred of her young men, under the command of Philip Malavolti, in the Chriſtian army raiſed for its relief. Henry, on his return from this expedition, was by the pope declared emperor, and inveſted in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, upon condition that he would recover it from Tancred, the ſon of Roger the fourth of the houſe of Normandy, heir of William king of England, who died in this cruſade. While the pope and the emperor were occupied in this enterpriſe, and all Italy was filled with arms and rumours, and ſo many gentlemen of Siena were abſent in the wars, the people of Siena thought they had a favourable opportunity to endeavour, with ſecurity, to take the government of the republic out of the hands of the conſuls, and, by a reformation of the ſtate, introduce a new form of popular government. The plebeians tumultouſly riſing, with great impetuoſity flew to arms: but the gentlemen, who had foreſeen the inſurrection, had prudently aſſembled in the public walks, and provided themſelves with attendants and arms, that they might be able to oppoſe the people, and defend the dignity of the government.

government. The heads of the popular faction, perceiving that their deſign could not ſucceed by force, put a ſtop to the tumult, but ſtood armed in ſeveral parts of the city. The moſt reſpectable citizens of each party, meeting half way between the two bodies, effected a reconciliation ſo far, that both ſides agreed to lay down their arms; and it was agreed, that if any one would demand or requeſt that any thing ſhould be corrected or reformed for the public ſervice, he ſhould propoſe it civilly, without the terror of arms, and if it ſhould be judged an error or a grievance by the council, their ſhould be no difficulty in obtaining its amendment or redreſs; and, with copious reaſonings, they demonſtrated the diſorders which muſt ariſe from ſuch commotions, with arms in their hands, to demand deliberations upon new laws becauſe the multitude, always naturally deſirous of ſeeing new things, are never contented with what they poſſeſs, and having obtained one object of perſuit, they ſuddenly look for another, ſetting neither bounds nor laws to their appetites, and upon every little accident, wich is always in the power of any one to excite, they fly, according to their preſent paſſions, prejudicies, neceſſities, or inclinations, to burglaries, robberies, and conflagrations, many examples of wich have been ſeen in Siena, as well as other cities; and no method of ſuppreſſing an unbridled populace has been hitherto invented, without manifeſt and univerſal danger. They moreover took into conſideration, that, from the vicinity of Florence, in times ſo agitated, both parties ought to be ſenſible into what ruin they might fall, while they were engaged at home in contending with each other: and had it not been for this danger, the nobles were, at that time, ſo ſuperior in power

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to the plebeians, that they would not have ſubmitted to this inſolence, nor let eſcape this opportunity of putting an end to ſuch ſeditions, by chaſtiſing the authors of this. They only adviſed the conſuls to call together the council the next day. When together, they deliberated and debated upon a variety of ſubjects; but, after many conteſts, they concluded upon nothing but this. In order to ſatisfy the ambition of two or three perſons who aſpired to be conſuls, it was determined, that, inſtead of three conſuls, there ſhould in future be ſix, obſerving the ſame diſtribution of two thirds noblemen, one third of whom were to be of the Ghibelline faction, and one third popular members. By this meaſure they quieted the minds of the ambitious and envious for this year: but the year following, at the new election of conſuls, freſh innovations would have been attempted, if, at that time, thoſe Sieneſe gentlemen, who had been to Aſia at their own expence, had not returned in triumph, to the univerſal joy of the whole city. This event quieted the minds of thoſe who were addicted to civil diſcord. As the creation of ſix conſuls had produced no other effect than to increaſe the difficulty of aſſembling them together, and of concluding deliberations by deciding queſtions, it was now reſolved to have only three, and in this way they went on, varying the number according to the times and the buſineſs.

In 1194 and 1195, the commerce of the city was much increaſed by emigrants from Milan; the manufactures in wool were introduced; the great fountain and aquæduct was built, as well as the palace.

In 1197, the conti Scialenghi were made to ſubmit and ſwear allegiance to Siena, for all the lands and caſtles, as il Monte Sante, Marie, Monte Bello,

Bello, Monte Martino, Monte Bernardo, Monte Franco, &c. and the Cacciaconti, Cacciaguerra, Tancredi, Guido, Ranieri, Bernardino, Aldobrandino, Renaldo, counts of Scialenghi, were admitted citizens of Siena. The inhabitants of Aſciano alſo ſubmitted. The count Napoleone de Viconti di Campiglia, the counts Guiglieſchi, and the counts Ardegheſchi, alſo capitulated. The inhabitants of Montalcino, who had frequently excited quarrels between Siena and theſe counts, now diſcovered much animoſity, and preparations were made for war, to bring them to ſubmiſſion; and that civil diſſenſions might not interrupt the enterpriſe, and to quiet the minds of many, who deſired that military matters ſhould be ſeparated from the civil and political, and that the conſuls ſhould have nothing to do but attend to affairs of ſtate, and government of the city, they made an election of a foreign nobleman, who, with imperial authority, ſhould have the care of all civil and criminal cauſes, having judges, aſſeſſors, and other offices in his family, convenient for ſuch an office. This magiſtrate they called podeſta, from the power and authority granted to the cities of Italy to create ſuch an officer by the emperor Frederick the Firſt, at the peace of Conſtance in 1183, and to the Sieneſe in particular by Henry the Sixth in 1186, when he came into Italy as vicar to his father Frederick. And beſides the judicial authority, in civil and criminal cauſes, the podeſta had the government and command of the army in caſe of war. The firſt who was elected podeſta of Siena was M. Orlando Malapreſa of Lucca, for one year, and he entered on his office the firſt of January 1199, according to the order of the city. The Sieneſe were deſirous of an accommodation with the Florentines, that they might

might not be moleſted by them in the enterpriſe they meditated againſt Montalcino. The diſcords among the princes of Germany upon the election of an emperor, and the revolution of empire in Conſtantinople, are not much to our preſent purpoſe.

In 1201 a perpetual alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was concluded between Florence and Siena, Philip Malavolti being Podeſta, by which the inhabitants of Montalcino were declared enemies of both. In 1201 the armies of Siena made themſelves maſters of their fortreſs and territory. The counts Ardengheſci refuſed to furniſh their quota to this expedition, which excited the reſentment of the city againſt them, and at length a war. The cities of Tuſcany, that lived and were governed as republics, remained long without any palace or other public place in which they could aſſemble their magiſtrates and councils; they were therefore ſummoned to meet ſometimes in one church, and ſometimes in another, according to the changes of the firſt man in the office of conſul, until the eſtabliſhment of the office of the nine, at which time a palace was built. The firſt conſul uſually collected the reſt in his own pariſh church, as the Romans long congregated their ſenate, ſometimes in one temple, ſometimes in another, according to the nature of the buſineſs on which they were to deliberate. Another quarrel ſoon aroſe between Florence and Siena, at the concluſion of which the latter were obliged to relinquiſh Poggibonzi, whoſe inhabitants praiſed the Florentines very highly, while they reproached with bitterneſs the Sieneſe. The arbitrators, or agents, who ſettled this diſpute, were very ill received on their return; and the praiſes of Florence, which they heard repeated, diſpleaſed them

as much as the reproaches of themſelves. Theſe excited great heats, reſentment and perſonal altercations, not only among the common people, but among all the noble houſes which had given their opinions againſt making the ceſſion of Poggibonzi. The diſputes upon this occaſion went ſo far, that many perſonal enmities grew out of them and parties frequently came to blows, and bloody combats in arms, by which many factions were generated, who frequently fighting with each other, produced a number of atrocious actions and ſcandalous crimes. The wiſeſt men, thoſe who conſider more the end than the beginning of things, a character peculiar to prudent men, were hardly able to invent a remedy, or by the interpoſition of the public authority to preſerve the peace. The city remained a long time wonderfully agitated; the citizens having no confidence in one another ſtanding in continual ſuſpicion, and daily expectation of further diſorders, tumult and ſeditions. Theſe diſtractions delayed the expedition againſt Montepulciano, which however was at length, in 1204, undertaken; when diſſenſions aroſe among all the cities of Tuſcany upon the queſtion, whether Montepulciano was within the dominion or country of Siena. It was cuſtomary to ſettle ſuch diſputes by a congreſs or parliament of rectors, from all the cities of the league or company of Tuſcany; and ſuch deputies were now appointed, who, after hearing the parties, and examining witneſſes, determined in favour of Siena. It was a cuſtom of the emperors to maintain a vicar in Tuſcany, who lived and held a court in San Miniato Altedeſco, who gave an account of the cauſes which had an appeal to the emperor, and received the rents, taxes, tolls, cuſtoms, tributes, and other gifts, all which the juriſts call by one

one word, regalia; and when it happened that the emperor ſent no vicar to the province, he ſent nuncios to particular cities, and called them counts of thoſe places to which he ſent them, with the ſame authority. This method of collecting together and making a congreſs, which was uſed in thoſe times by the cities of Tuſcany was generally very uſeful to the whole province, becauſe the rectors (ſo they called the repreſentatives who compoſed the congreſs) as ſoon as they underſtood that a difference had ariſen between one city and another, although they were ſometimes of different and contrary factions, exerted themſelves, according to the obligations of their magiſtracy, with extreme diligence, to bring them to an accommodation; and if ſometimes their endeavours to adjuſt the difference did not ſucceed, and the war was proſecuted, the congreſs nevertheleſs ſtood firm, and the rectors did not fail to do every thing in their power for the univerſal benefit, and at all times appeared together in parliament for the public buſineſs which occurred, and to make their elections, at the ſtated periods, of new rectors, who had no authority alone in their countries, but only while they were aſſembled with the rectors of the other cities. As it was their duty to be always attentive to the common utility, if ſo many people, for their private intereſts, excited by the ambition of dominion, or by avarice, two qualities very unfriendly to peace, had not departed from this fœderal order, the ruin of ſo many republics had not perhaps been affected: but as the men of that age were little accuſtomed to reflection, and had leſs prudence in providing for futurity, they were ſtill leſs ſolicitous to leave, by the means of letters, the memory and hiſtory of their times, ſo that only a confuſed notion of a few

particulars remains at this day, not only of this confederation, but of an infinite number of other great events and inſtitutions.

In 1206 followed the diſcords between Philip of Suevia, and Otho of Saxony, and their contention for the empire, in which Philip was ſuperior; which was followed by wars with the Saracens, and between Siena and Florence, in which the army of the former was defeated at Montalto.

In 1209 the king of the Romans came into Italy, and confirmed the privileges of Siena, particularly thoſe of electing conſuls, coining money, and adminiſtering juſtice, reſerving appeals, and other conditions expreſſed in the grant of Henry; but declaring, that Jacomo Aldobrando, and Henry, ſons of Aldibrandino Guiſeppi, and other nobles who held feignories in the county of Siena, nor their ſubjects, ſhould be under the podeſta of the city. The conſuls endeavoured to divert the minds of the people now at peace with Florence, by employing them in rebuilding the caſtles, and reſtoring the ſtrong places belonging to the republic; but they found it impoſſible to ſuppreſs or divert the ambition of the popular multitude, who, feeling themſelves relieved from foreign wars, would be employed in domeſtic ſeditions. As they were at liberty to chooſe the podeſta, either from foreigners or from the nobility of Siena, the choice was generally made from among the latter. The people thought that the introduction of this office had rather been a loſs than an acquiſition to them; and that the nobles, by means of it, had aggrandized themſelves. They inſiſted, that this ſhould be corrected in the order of chooſing the podeſta; and to remove all occaſion of diſſenſions, and maintain the public tranquility, the gentlemen concurred, in 1211, in a new law, that the podeſta

podeſta ſhould for the future always be a foreigner. It is eaſy to ſee that the pride of moſt of the nobles concurred with, if it did not excite this popular humour; for the jealouſy and envy of the nobles can never bear to ſee one of themſelves elevated much above the reſt. Regardleſs of equality among the people, and irreconcileable enemies to any appearance of it between the people and themſelves, they muſt always be peers, or equals among one another; and when a king, or any other firſt magiſtrate, muſt be placed over them, they always prefer the introduction of a foreigner to the elevation of one of their own body. But it does not always happen in theſe caſes, that by taking away the cauſe, the effect is removed. Thoſe who are grown inveterate in the habits of diſſenſion, without having any regard to the public good, and without the leaſt cauſe of complaint, will find means of interrupting and diſturbing good order. The people had obtained whatever they demanded, yet they would not lay down their arms; and the multitude appearing in continual inſurrections, ſome terrible cataſtrophe was apprehended, and would have occurred, if the nobles had not likewiſe reſorted to arms, and, with a great concourſe of thoſe who wiſhed for peace and order, had not marched through the city. This proceſſion ſpread a terror among the ſeditious, who, from fear, laid down their arms, and returned to their houſes. Upon this the government was re-aſſumed, and confirmed by the puniſhment of many of thoſe who had been the heads of this commotion. The firſt who was created podeſta, according to the new law, was M. Guido di Ranuccio da Orvieta

In 1221, Frederick the Second, after his coronation, having granted many favours to ſeveral lords

lords and cities of the Ghibelline party, renewed and enlarged the privileges of Siena, of adminiſtering juſtice, of paying the gabells or impoſts only at the gates of the city, of coining money, and of exemption from all cuſtoms and tributes in the country. Theſe exemptions and privileges perhaps occaſioned a demand of ſimilar favours which was at this time made by the territories tributary to Siena, ſuch as Chiuci, Montelatrone, Montepinzuto, Potentino, Luriano, Vico, the lands of the abbey of St. Antimo, and other places. But as this demand occaſioned a civil war, and Siena raiſed a force both of horſe and foot which they were ill provided to reſiſt, they capitulated.

In 1222 the count Ranieri da Travale, originally of the Morea, in the Peloponneſus, was made a citizen of Siena, and annexed the lands and caſtles he had purchaſed to their dominion. From him are deſcended the counts of Elci, Montingegnoli, and Fuoſini. But the city, when it was not at war with Florence, nor againſt the pope, nor engaged in cruſades nor in rebellion againſt the emperor, was almoſt continually engaged in diſputes and wars with the mountains, caſtles, and lords in its neighbourhood, though in alliance with it or under its dominion; and whenever a moment of perfect peace occurred, ſeditions and tumults broke out. With the conqueſt of Groſetto, and an increaſe of juriſdiction, Siena had excited much envy in a part of thoſe cities of the Guelphs, in Tuſcany, Florence, Lucca, Orvieto and Penegia, which were in a league againſt the other confederation of the Ghibellines, which were Siena, Piſa, Arezzo, and Piſtoia. The former took meaſures to oppoſe the Sieneſe in their favourite enterpriſe againſt Montepulciano, and this occaſioned a ſeries of altercations and wars, not only among theſe cities

cities, but with the lords of the mountains, too long to be related; but at laſt Montepulciano was taken, and peace concluded. The cities of Tuſcany, now in profound peace, and all apprehenſions of its interruption removed by the preſence of the emperor in Italy with a powerful army, the Sieneſe thought themſelves ſecure from the ſtratagems as well as invaſions of their enemies. This ſenſe of ſecurity awakened in the minds of the popular multitude in the city of Siena the ſame deſire of making themſelves maſters of the internal government of the republic, which at former times they had entertained. The principal heads of this faction, in their conſultations on the project, and diſcourſing on the means of carrying it into execution, found among themſelves a great variety of opinions, from whence aroſe violent diſſenſions. From this aroſe two circumſtances, which prevented the ſcandalous diſorders which uſually happen in ſuch caſes. The firſt was a delay of the concluſions and reſolutions; the ſecond was, that in this interval it was not poſſible to keep the plot ſo ſecret and concealed, that no intimation ſhould be given to the nobility of what was meditated to their diſadvantage, and the manifeſt danger of the whole city, if to ſuch an end the people ſhould recur to arms. When the nobles had diſcovered and conſidered the ſituation and the danger they were in, not only from theſe commotions, but from the hatred which, in the wars of ſo many years with Florence and Orvieta, they had provoked in the minds of their inhabitants, from ſuch prudent conſiderations it was determined to treat civilly with the popular party, without the buſtle of arms, leſt they ſhould be involved at once in a war both at home and abroad, and as the popular party, from the ſame motives, concurred

red with the nobles, that the innovation ſhould be made in their civil robes rather than in armour, it was agreed that the council ſhould be aſſembled. Here they deliberated and debated on the mode of reforming the government of the city. As the popular party ſaw no poſſibility of obtaining to themſelves excluſively the government, as they had at firſt projected and reaſoned among themſelves, they demanded, that, in addition to their third part in the council and magiſtracy, it ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the council themſelves to chooſe the other part of the magiſtrates, and fifty more members at leaſt of the council, out of the nobles or people, at their pleaſure. To this the nobles would not agree, and many of them oppoſed it with ſuch efficacious reaſons, as made it appear unreaſonable to the popular party themſelves, and the petition was neither granted nor countenanced by many votes. Tolomei, Malovolti, Buonſignori, and Gallerani, were the principal ſpeakers among the nobles; and their eloquence was employed to perſuade the popular party, that they ought to be contented with the ſhare they already enjoyed in the republic, and eſteem themſelves under obligations to the memory of their granfathers, who had ſo benevolently embraced them, and taken them into their ſociety; and having received ſo great a favour from the nobility, who had received them into an equality with themſelves, it would have been a more rational and becoming conduct to have demonſtrated their gratitude, by acknowledging the benefaction, and co-operating harmoniouſly in the public ſervice, in the imminent danger which they ſaw over the commonwealth, rather than excite every day freſh ſeditions. That they might well know that thoſe who had held the government hitherto, were not men of ſo poor capacities,

pacities, as to have occaſion in the adminiſtration of their public, for the aſſiſtance of ſo great a number of new men, for the moſt part uſeleſs, or more properly pernicious, by their contracted underſtandings and ſmall experience. That their project was the more alarming, as they propoſed to make the magiſtrates ſo very numerous; becauſe it had been ſeen, in numberleſs examples, and experience had found it an infallible obſervation, that ſtates had been ſeldom well governed by the multitude, in whoſe deliberations, beſides other imperfections, the opinion of the moſt ignorant and incapable weighs as much as that of the moſt prudent and experienced. Thoſe cities which had raſhly committed the government to the multitude, had, to their misfortune, more frequently experienced revolutions in the ſtate, than thoſe which reſtricted the government to a few: for although, to a ſuperficial view, the equality of the citizens in the public deliberations, where the votes are numbered, but neither weighed nor meaſured, might appear a juſt and reaſonable thing; yet to any man who maturely reflected on the ſubject, it muſt appear in a very different light. As to the mode of making the elections of magiſtrates, if it were poſſible to concede to the people the ſhare they demanded, theſe orators demonſtrated that it muſt prove pernicious to the commonwealth. The method propoſed was a way to take from the council the free power of creating the magiſtrates, the propoſed law impoſing the neceſſity of creating one third of them from faction excluſively; and taking away the diſcretionary right of electing thoſe who, according to the occaſions and times of war or of peace, might be the beſt qualified to diſcharge the duties of their office. It was affirmed, that in a very little time it would be ſeen, that

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not only the nobles, who had from the beginning ruled, and with ſo much virtue and dignity aggrandized their country, but even that theſe popular families, who for a ſpace of an hundred years had honourably governed and proſpered with them, would by this innovation be thrown out of the government. That this invention, as now propoſed, as was eaſy to be perceived, had no other end in view then to introduce a government of new men, by pulling down theſe who had hitherto maintained it; becauſe, as the council in the election of officers was bound by neceſſity always to elect a third portion from the popular order, it might and would ſoon happen, that of the other portion, either all, or at leaſt a part, would be popular members, new perſons, and unexperienced in adminiſtration: and the nobles, and thoſe accuſtomed to government, would be depoſed, to the grievous loſs and misfortune of the public. When it was admitted that every citizen, without diſtinction, might be admitted to honours and to government, is it not better that the council ſhould have the free faculty of making their elections of perſons apt for their offices, that men may be excited by this motive to habituate themſelves to honourable exerciſes and virtuous courſes? That to impoſe the neceſſity of electing another, who knows that he muſt be elected at all events, is to take away from him every incentive to virtuous behaviour. This would be preciſely the way of beſtowing honours on ſloth inſtead of virtue, and to give the eſtabliſhment of magiſtrates to the laws, not the appointment to the council, who will be for the moſt part forced to make the election contrary to their judgments and inclinations; an indignity too great to be offered to that ſenate.

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To this harangue it was anſwered, on the part of the popular faction, by William Gollucci, who ſaid, that the nobles ought not to diſdain to have the people aſſociated with them in the government of the commonwealth, among many other reaſons, becauſe they very well knew they had it not now in their power to ſay, what had been affirmed by their granfathers, when in the beginning they refuſed to admit the people to any ſhare, that popular men are not fit to exerciſe magiſtracies, nor to rule in the councils of the city; for having, ſince 1135, governed in concert with them, participating only in a third part, they had given ſuch aſſiſtance, that the city was greatly increaſed in dominion, riches, and population, as was evident to all men: ſo that their ſociety might be ſaid to have been of the greateſt public utility; and the ſame benefits, and ſtill greater, might be expected in future, when, inſtead of a limitation to a third part, there ſhould be no bounds preſcribed. That it very rarely had happened that any city had ariſen to grandeur, if it had not admitted the people and the other ſubjects to the adminiſtration of the commonwealth, and to the magiſtracies. "This," ſaid he, "was the ruin of the Lacedemonians and Athenians, who, although they were moſt valiant in arms, would have found their republics of little energy and ſhort duration, if they had excluded their ſubjects from the hopes of riſing, by their arms and other virtues, to honours and public magiſtracies. What was it that elevated Rome to its ſuperlative greatneſs, more than their having given civility, the rights of citizens to privileges and honours, to all in Italy who ſubmitted to their empire? What can ſtimulate your own citizens to greater alacrity in the ſervice of the public, than

the hope of arriving, by their good behaviour, to the higheſt honours of the republic? and the knowledge, that if in war they place themſelves in the poſt of danger, they are ſure to do it for their own proper utility, as well as for that of others? What intereſt can you believe will make them more ardent, animated, and intrepid in any public enterpriſe? We know, moreover, that no government can be properly ſtyled a republic, which does not comprehend all the people of the city." By theſe reaſons he endeavoured to perſuade the ſenate, that is to ſay the council, that the demand made by the people was as much for the public ſervice in general, as their own in particular: and as to that which had been ſaid by the grandees againſt receiving new men into the government, he replied, that as all other things, how acient ſoever they might be, had a beginning, ſo it was with nobility; "as, for example, we may ſay, as you know very well, that after the firſt original nobility of our city, with Charlemain, when he delivered Italy from the domination of the Lombards, came the Malevoli and the French gentlemen, who ſince have called themſelves Bandinelli, who were received not only into the number of the citizens, but into the ranks of the nobles and patricians of Siena; after that, with Otho the Firſt, when he expelled the Berengarii from Italy, the Salembeni, the Tolommei, who in like manner were enumerated among the nobles and grandees of this city; and, in times more modern, many others, who were lords of ſeveral caſtles of this ſtate, as the Scorcialupi, who once have called themſelves Squarcialupi, thoſe of Tornano, of Valcorteſe, of Berardenga, Scialenga, and many others, who all enjoy the title of nobility. Finally, our granfathers were admitted

admitted to the government in 1135; and if we, their deſcendants, have retained the name of popular, it does not follow that we have not acquired nobility. For what reaſon then, if your anceſtors have accepted foreigners and ultramontanes, and even conquered lords and landholders, into their peerage, ſhould not you receive your own proper fellow citizens? thoſe who are born free within the ſame walls with yourſelves, and run the ſame fortunes with all others? You will ſay, becauſe they are not noble. We however ſay, that all thoſe others in this kind of nobility were not more noble than are at this hour thoſe who, by means of public dignities, have acquired nobility, or than will be thoſe who ſhall come into the government after us; and as we ſhall be an example for them, ſo will they be to thoſe who may come after them; and the city will be able, by this means, to preſerve, for a longer time, the nobility of her citizens; and, as it is natural that whatever has a beginning muſt have an end, new noblemen will ſucceed from time to time to thoſe who may fail, and the land will be better peopled and more powerful."

A ſhort replication to theſe arguments was made by Rinaldo Aleſſi, who ſaid, that if the people, ſince they had participated in the government, had remained more quiet, it was poſſible the city might have made ſome notable acquiſition; but, as every one knew, the continual ſeditions which the popular party had excited, had raiſed their inordinate deſires, and diſpoſed them more to civil wars than to wars with their hoſtile neighbours; and that thoſe acquiſitions which they had made had been obtained rather by the incidents of the times than by any other reaſon; and that thoſe ancient gentlemen who

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came formerly with Charlemain and the firſt Otho, when they were invited, many centuries ago, to inhabit this city, had the ſeigniories of many caſtles, which had been given them, in reward of their illuſtrious actions which they performed for the ſervice of the empire, by Charles and Otho; and that more ſplendour and nobility had accrued to the republic than to them by their coming to inhabit it. And the ſame thing was true of the other lords of this dominion, who, according to the accidents which have occurred, have been made gentlemen of Siena, the city being aggrandized and ennobled by the acquiſition of their families, caſtles, and ſeigniores.

By theſe ſpeeches we ſee that neither the ariſtocratical nor the democratical orators aimed at any thing more than a government of all authority in one centre; but the legiſlative and executive power were to be lodged in one aſſembly. The nobles wiſhed to have the whole houſe to themſelves, and the commons wiſhed the ſame thing, though each party temporized and modified their language with ſome regard to the other. The loaves and fiſhes, the honours and emoluments, were what they all ſought, more than liberty, ſafety, or good order, more than the commerce, arts, or peace, more than the proſperity, grandeur, and glory of their country. Not one of them thinks of giving all the executive power to the podeſta, with a weapon to defend it; not one thinks of dividing the ſovereign legiſlature into two aſſemblies, giving to the nobles and people an equal ſhare: yet, without theſe arrangements, every intelligent reader of their hiſtory, at this day, perceives that all the projects of either party for amendment would only increaſe the evil, by inflaming the ill humour. After many diſcourſes, made by ſeveral perſons of both parties,

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the grandees, ſenſible that, if they ſhould recur to arms, and defend the dignity of their ſtations, they might, in the war which they expected with Florence and Orvieta, and by the difficulty of obtaining money, but all in danger, by refuſing to accommodate their civil diſcords by giving way in part : they therefore concurred in the opinion that prevailed, that the council ſhould make the election of thirty citizens, fifteen of each party, who ſhould have authority to propoſe a new form of government, as it appeared that the magiſtrates, called the conſuls, ſince the introduction of the office of the podeſta, that of the four purveyors, and the chamberlain of Biccherna, were no longer of any authority at all, and that there was a neceſſity to of making a magiſtracy of a greater number of men, and of more authority concerning the affairs of the ſtate, and the adminiſtrations of the republic. The thirty perſons who where inveſted with this full power, or, as the Florentines called it, balia, having diſcourſed and deliberated ſome time upon the ſubject of their commiſſion, and wiſhing to give ſatisfaction to the public, as well as gratify the ambition of many individuals, by conſtituting a numerous magiſtracy, they propoſed to the council to inſtitute a magiſtracy of twenty-four, to be elected by the coucnil out of the whole body of the people, or the citizens at large, on condition that there ſhould not be nominated or voted for a greater number from one faction than from the other ; and as it was underſtood that the emperor Frederick was ſoon to leave Italy, and it was expected the Florentines would ſoon atack them or ſome of their dependencies, the meaſure ſoon obtained, the four and twenty magiſtrates were immediately created, and wirh great ſpirit entered on

on their offices, by making preparations for war againſt the Florentines and the other Guelphs. This revolution, if a bare change of the number of firſt magiſtrates without any change in the ſovereignty can be called one, was in 1232, while the emperor was at Ravenna.

The Sieneſe were now involved in conſtant wars with their neighbours till 1238, when the diſcords between the pope and the emperor revived the animoſities of the ancient factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Tuſcany, as well as in many other parts of Italy, and with greater hatred and animoſity then ever: nor was there any people who were not infected with this deſtructive contagion, by which, without having any other cauſe of quarrel, they fought with each other with mortal enmity, not only one city againſt another, but the ſame city divided into theſe factions combatted itſelf; each party having not only different enſigns, under which they marched out to war, but they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the colour and wearing of their clothes, by their gait and air, and geſtures of the body, and by every other the ſmalleſt circumſtance: ſo that, at the firſt aſpect, a Guelph might be known, by glance of the eye, from a Ghibelline. theſe diviſions not only prevailed among the Sieneſe, but, ſince the introduction of the magiſtracy of twenty-four, a new diverſity aroſe among the citizens, and a new diſtinction of party names. This government did not pleaſe all, and thoſe who approved it aſſumed the name of twenty-four, and thoſe who were diſſatisfied took the name of twenty-ſeven. Hatred and reſentment increaſed among them to ſuch a degree, that in 1240 they flew again to arms, with moſt violent commotions of the whole city, the ſlaughter of multitudes on each ſide, with innumerable

numerable robberies, burglaries, plunderings, and conflagrations of houſes and palaces, and other crimes committed by the plebeians. But as the rabble in favour of the twenty-four appeared to be the ſtrongeſt, this magiſtracy ſurvived the lawleſs attempts to deſtroy it, and preſerved authority enough to elect M. Aldobrandino di Guido Cacciaconti podeſta, who, by his prudence, and the public authority, reduced the city to ſome degree of obedience to the laws. The ſecret was, that the pope and the emperor were to the republics of Italy, what Sparta and Athens had been to thoſe of the Peloponneſus: each muſt have a party in every city, and if the nobles were on one ſide, the people would be on the other, and vice verſa; and every art of ſeduction was employed by one power or the other on both.

The Sieneſe were now plunged in new wars, which continued, almoſt without interruption, till 1258. The cities of Tuſcany, which, in the diſcords between the pontiffs and emperors, had followed the Imperial party, and were denominated Ghibellines, after the death of Frederick the Second were greatly oppreſſed by the other cities, which, having followed the eccleſiaſtical party, were then ſuperior, and were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Guelphs; but ſince Manfred, overcoming the forces of the pope, had made himſelf maſter of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, he took the Ghibellines in the province of Tuſcany into his more immediate protection, and placed Siena at the head of that party. As Florence was the head of the Guelph party, each city in its turn was an aſylum for the exiles of the other; which, in addition to the jealouſy, envy, emulation, and ſelfiſh views, which are common between neighbouring nations as well as cities, proved a continual provocation to war. Theſe wars and rebellions of their mountains,

tains, which it would fill volumes to deſcribe, will be paſſed over. Yet it may be proper to mention the rebellion of Monteano and Montemaſzi, when the count Giordano demanded in the ſenate that one third of the city ſhould be armed and ſent out, becauſe a form of their conſtitution is upon this occaſion explained. Although the Sieneſe were zealouſly inclined to comply with the requeſt of Giordano, and thought the expedition very intereſting to their country, they would not depart from the ancient order, that when any expedition was propoſed, that the ſubject might be maturely conſidered, it muſt be propoſed in the council of the credenza, and conſulted on three times, on three ſeveral days, in the general council, before any thing could be determined. A deputation, upon this occaſion, was appointed to attend the army, conſiſting of the podeſta, the captain of the people, the three firſt members of the office of twenty-four, and twelve good men, buoni huomini, deputed by the commons. The ſoldiers and officers in theſe expeditions ſerved without pay, in imitation of the Romans, who, for three hundred and forty-nine years, continued to go out to war, every one at his own expenſe. This is univerſally alledged by hiſtorians as a proof of their love of their country; but it may as well be conſidered as a proof of their poverty and their ignorance, for there is no example of it among rich and well-informed people: it would be indeed unjuſt and unequal. As the proviſions and apparatus were found by the public, and plunder was made wherever they went, it is very probable that the moſt of their armies were better fed, and more profitably employed, abroad than at home, as manufactures were little known, and commerce and navigation in its infancy.

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In the year 1359 ambaſſadors were ſent to the king Manfred by the council of the credenza, who from the council general, or the ſenate, which ſignified the ſame thing, had the authority deputed to them to give commiſſions and inſtructions to ambaſſadors. The council of credenza was a ſecret council, as its name imports, in which were ſecretly treated thoſe things which were to be propoſed to the general council, which repreſenting the whole city, had greater authority; but no propoſition could be made, if it had not firſt obtained in the council of credenza. This is very remarkable: the ſovereignty was in one ſingle aſſembly, the general council; the leading members, however had influence enough to get themſelves ſeparated from the body by its own act, all ſecret affairs committed to them, and nothing permitted to be brought into the general council without their previous approbation. This arrangement was afterwards imitated by the grand dukes. In the council of the people, nothing could be treated which had not previouſly been treated in the conſiſtory, and by them propoſed. Another council obtained in Siena, which has been mentioned before, called the council of aſſembly, of fifty members for each third, which, at ſtated periods, was changed by the general council, and limited by them in authority: ſo that the whole ſovereignty, the whole legiſlative, judicial, and executive authority, was literally in one centre, that of the general council, and all other aſſemblies, councils, magiſtrates, and officers, were only committees and deputies of that body *. In this council of credenza the ſe-

* Malavolti, lib. i. della Seconda Parte, fol. 7 and 8.—Chroniche Saneſe, Ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scrip. tom. xv. p. 29, 30, &c.

cret treaty was made with the count Giordano, and ambaſſadors ſent with his to Manfred.

In the year 1260 the memorable battle of Montaperto was fought betwen the Florentines and Sieneſe, in which the latter obtained a complete victory, and reduced Florence to the brink of deſtruction. At this glorious period, when their great rival Florence was reduced to ſuch extremities as to be obliged to ſubmit to the emperor and the Ghibellines, and make peace with Siena upon her own terms; when ſo many other people and territories were daily ſubmitting to their juriſdiction, and ambaſſadors of congratulation were arriving from all parts; is it not ſurpriſing that union and harmony at home ſhould not accompany ſuch tranſports of joy as appeared in every part of their dominions? Yet, in a government ſo conſtituted, a diſpute among a few young gentlemen at a bath of Petriuolo was ſufficient to divide the whole city. In this rencounter one Baroccino di Bencivenne Barocci, a youth of the popular order, was killed by M. Robba Renaldini. Of this homicide M. Bennucio Salimbine was alſo accuſed, who, beſides being baniſhed together with M. Robba, and having their palaces demoliſhed by the fury of the people, becauſe Bencivenne, father of Baroccino, was of the magiſtracy of the twenty-four, who then governed the city, and, through the hatred which the people bore to the nobles, was condemned in a fine of twelve thouſand pounds, and rigorouſly held in priſon in irons, till his father Salimbeni was obliged to pay it. So rigid a puniſhment, tranſgreſſing as they thought all bounds of juſtice, in complaiſance to the people, provoked ſome of the nobles, who would not remain expoſed to the diſcretion and inſolence of

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the multitude, daily exited in commotions againſt them, and having ſuch an arbitrary influence in the judicial department, that they left the city, and retired for ſafety to Radicofani, a place by its ſituation ſufficiently ſtrong. Upon this the magiſtrates declared them of the party of the Guelphs, which provoked them to over-run, with ſome troops of horſe, attended with their followers, the dominions of the republic in the country, and plunder the lands of their enemies, at whoſe inſtigations they knew the magiſtrates had been induced to paſs a decree ſo pernicious and prejudicial, not only to them, but to the whole city, by the diviſions which muſt ariſe from it among the citizens, reviving the hatred of factions, both of Guelphs and Ghibellines, nobles and people, which by the fear of foreign wars all parties had united unanimouſly to bury in oblivion, to their infinite advantage in the late war againſt their national enemies. From this diſorder, ariſing from that leiſure, idleneſs, and inſolence, which, having overcome their external enemies, had taken poſſeſſion of them in place of fear, factions and parties took occaſion to revive their enmities, and to ſtudy to offend, provoke, and injure one another. Having learnt in Siena the miſchief which had been done in the country by the fugitives, now become exiles, a ſtrong force was ſent out, of German troops as well as the militia, both cavalry and infantry, when, after an obſtinate engagement, and many ſlain on both ſides, among whom were ſeveral perſons of conſequence, the exiles were defeated by ſuperior numbers, and the diſcipline of the German troops. This was in 1262. The hiſtory proceeds with accounts of rebellions and ſubmiſſions of one and another of their mountains, caſtles, ſeigniories, and other little dependencies, and

and of the perſecutions of their exiles and the Guelphs; and all things in this period are done in the name of the commons of Siena, till the year 1266, when many ill humours began to appear again in the city; and by the accidents which had occurred, ſo great a change had been produced in the minds of the multitude, that it appeared to the major part of thoſe concerned in the adminiſtration, that, for the univerſal ſatisfaction, it was become neceſſary to re-ordain the government in a new form. To this end ſixty citizens were elected; but by whom? not by the people, or citizens at large, nor by a convention of their deputies, the only legitimate expedient for framing a new conſtitution, but by the general council. Into this number of ſixty were elected, in confuſion, both grandees (for ſo the nobles were now called) and popular men, with authority to reform the city, with new orders, by which they were to introduce univerſal peace and tranquility among the citizens. But a contrary effect was produced; becauſe, as the ſixty let ſeveral months paſs, after they began to aſſemble, before they publiſhed their reſult, the popular party conjectures that they had made ſome proviſion in favour of the nobles, to their prejudice and damage, and accordingly roſe with aſtoniſhing noiſe and tumult; and ruſhing impetuouſly in arms to the palace of the biſhoprick, where the ſixty were now congregated, and ſetting fire to the gate, conſtrained them to renounce their magiſtracy; from whence, returning privately to their houſes, many, both of the popular citizens and of the nobles, through fear, went out of the city. Others, taking arms, endeavoured to defend the public honour and their own; among whom were many of the houſes of Tolomei, Salembeni, Piccolomini, Accarigi, and other

other families, who, combating in a variety of places, after having done and ſuffered great damage, with the death of many perſons of every party, and not being any longer able to reſiſt ſo great a multitude were forced to depart from Siena, together with M. Inghirano, captain of the people, who, in this conteſt had ſhewn himſelf favourable to the magiſtracy of the ſixty. As ſoon as they had departed they were declared rebels and enemies of their country, their eſtates were confiſcated, and the palaces of Tolomei demoliſhed, as well as another of Piccolomini, and the towers of the ſons of Salembeni, and the houſes of Accarigi. The maſter workman of all theſe ruins was one M. Lutterio, who is named without a ſurname; and another, named Ferrucio, was ſent as a commiſſary to Campriano, to demoliſh the palace of Tolomei, and Rimbaldi, &c. In this new ſedition excited by the multitude againſt the magiſtrates of the ſixty, if it was not properly a quarrel between Guelphs and Ghibellines, nor entirely between the nobles and the people, it applied itſelf however to thoſe who had before been driven from the city, and they united with the exiles of the Guelph party, who, incited by the favour which by the victory of king Charles they appeared to ſhare, and uniting with the Orvietanians, and the counts Aldobrandeſchi, did infinite damage in the dominions of Siena, and in a few days made themſelves maſters of the lands of Montepulciano, of Torrita, Menzano, Cerreto, and many other places, which rebelling againſt the city, ſurrendered to its exiles. The greater part of Tuſcany, by theſe and ſimilar diviſions ſtood in conſtant troubles and dangers. Moved by this conſideration, the citizens of Siena who held the government, deſirous of re-uniting

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and reconciling their exiles, that they might preſerve the ſtate from ſtill greater confuſions, ſent ambaſſadors of the Ghibelline party, one of whom was the biſhop of Siena, to Rome, to the pope Clement the Fourth praying his interpoſition to conclude a peace between them, their exiles and confederates. The pope accepted the office of mediator, and a peace was concluded Auguſt 2, 1266, and confirmed by the mountains, ſeigniories, exiles, and people, with promiſes of mutual forgiveneſs. New connections were formed with Charles of Anjou, king of Naples, and freſh wars engaged in, which kept the minds of the citizens employed, though the Sieneſe and the Ghibelline cauſe met with defeats and diſaſters which reduced it ſo low, that Siena was left alone to ſupport it. This adverſity, however had one good effect: on the 15th of Auguſt, 1270, it produced a peace between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Siena; and the twenty-four magiſtrates, with twelve buonhomini of the commons, meeting in one aſſembly, agreed that the government in future ſhould be adminiſtered by thirty-ſix magiſtrates, of nobles and commons in equal portions, with the title of The Thirty-ſix Governors of the City and Community of Siena. This was followed by a league with Florence, under the auſpices of Charles king of Naples. The party of the Guelphs was now ſo powerful, and the Ghibellines ſo depreſſed, that the Sieneſe, who, like all other people under governments ſo conſtituted, with parties nearly equal in numbers, wealth, and merit, without any mediator between them, ſtood always on the brink of ſedition, turned the ſcale rather in favour of the Guelphs; and theſe, as ſoon as they felt their power roſe upon the Ghibellines, and drove them out of the city. Underſtanding that

that king Charles was at Viterbo, they ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him on the happy ſucceſs of affairs in Tuſcany, who preſented him with four thouſand five hundred golden florins in behalf of the republic, the Guelphs being deſirous, upon this their firſt appearance in power, to ſhew their gratitude; and a diet of Guelph ambaſſadors was ſoon held in the caſtle of Florence. The Sieneſe Ghibellines in exile were nevertheleſs troubleſome, appearing in many places in arms, ravaging the country, till the Guelphs marched out, fought, and routed them. When this was done, they in their turn took vengeance, by demoliſhing the caſtles and towers of the Ghibellines, both in the city and country. In 1272 the pope Gregory Tenth again interpoſed his meditation, and obtained the reſtoration of the Ghibellines both in Siena and Florence; and the ſtipulation, promiſing them protection, was ratified by the college of thirty-ſix governors of the city and commons of Siena. But the minority is never happy: indeed, they are always oppreſſed by the majority, where there is not a ſeparate executive, and an independent judicial, whoſe intereſt as well as duty it is to be impartial between them. In a little time the Ghibellines, who were returned to Siena, found by experience the truth of this obſervation. They found, that they had not the ſame privileges * with others, nor the ſame chance for honours, nor the ſame ſecurity of their reputations, as when formerly they had ſhared the government with the Guelphs. Living in little credit, and having ſmall hopes of any change in their favour, and knowing that they

* Tanto fu ſempre piu potente, il favor, che la Giuſtitia, nelle citta partiali, com' e ſtata quaſi ſempre la citta di Siena. *Malavolti*, lib. iii. 2 Part. f. 44.

had

had no ſecurity for their property, liberty, or lives; but in the mercy of a major party, they returned into the country of Siena, and joining with the Ghibelline exiles from Bologna, renewed the old troubles and the uſual party rage. They raiſed forces excited rebellions, and formed alliances with little territories and ſeigniories, till they were able to meet a party of the army ſent out againſt them in 1277, defeated them at Pari, took many priſoners, among whom was Ridolphi, the captain, whom they beheaded. The news of this ſkirmiſh and defeat threw the Sieneſe army into ſuch a ſudden panic, that they betook themſelves to flight, without having ſeen their enemy, and without any military order returned to the city. Such an exceſs of timidity, ſuch an infamous cowardice, though it is not unprecedented nor uncommon even among the braveſt troops, could not fail to occaſion great indignation in Siena. When the multitude conſidered how eaſily the enemy might, if they ſhould have the reſolution to follow their advantage, enter the city itſelf, and join their partiſans there, they roſe in a tumult, and ran with great fury to the defence of the gates, and ſtood in arms all the reſt of that day and the following night. In the morning, finding that the enemy had leſs ardour to follow than their own army to fly, they laid down their arms; but went about the ſtreets of the city, dicourſing in much ill humour, that the diviſions of the nobles might very eaſily prove the ruin of their country, if ſome remedy was not diſcovered; and they declared, that they would not any longer be diſturbed by exiles, nor compelled by the diſcords among the gentlemen to be for ever in war, and in danger of loſing their lives and their property; and it appeared to them, that for the common tranquillity,

lity, a peace ought to be concluded, as propoſed by the pope's legate, who had been ſent to recommend a reconciliation between the people of Tuſcany. The Sieneſe of the Guelph party, who governed the city, influenced by theſe murmurs, the legates exhortations, and a wearineſs of civil war, which held them in continual agitation and danger both in their public and private affairs, agreed at laſt, in 1279, to a peace with their exiles who without any further noiſe of arms, and to the univerſal ſatisfaction of all parties, were reſtored to their country and their honours, under the podeſterate, or, as they choſe to call it the ſignory of Matthew de Maggi of Breſcia.

In the next year, 1280, in the podeſterate of Alberigo Signoregi of Bologna, by the fury of the people inſtigated by the Guelphs, were burnt and demoliſhed the palaces of the Incontii, a convulſion which originated in the uſual ſource, the diviſions and enmities among the gentlemen, and produced the uſual effect, an idle and uſeleſs attempt to reform the government, by reſtraining the power to fewer hands, with dividing and ſeparating it into its natural departments. The thirty-ſix magiſtrates were now reduced to fifteen, as if the number of members, not the nature of their power, had done the miſchief and it was ordained that no gentleman could be of the number of fifteen, but all muſt be popular men as if noble demagogues and popular demagogues were not all equally abſurd, ambitious, proud, and tyrannical, when they have no neceſſity to be wiſe, modeſt, humble, and equitable. This decree was as tyrannical as any that can be conceived; for if it were admitted that a deſcent from a line of benefactors to their country was no merit, nor any argument for employing a citizen in public offices,

ſurely it is no demerit, nor any argument for excluding him. The reaſon aſſigned for it was, that the pride of the nobility increaſed and accumulated by their bearing the public authority, and that they ought not to have the power to make their pride and arbitrary diſpoſitions more intolerable, nor by their diviſions among themſelves to diſturb ſo frequently the public peace and quiet of the other citizens, as they had done in times paſt; as if the pride of new men were not equally, or even more exalted by power, their diſpoſitions apt to become more arbitrary, and their diviſions even more untractable and furious, which is the certain truth of fact. Theſe fifteen new magiſtrates were called The Governors and Defenders of the Commons and People of Siena; but by this arbitrary inſtitution they neither quieted nor united the exaſperated minds of the nobles, who, without conſidering the damage which, in the divided ſituation of their principles, opinions, and affections, would reſult not only to themſelves, but to the whole city, which, being equally divided, was weakened to ſuch a degree, that malignant humours and irreparable animoſities muſt be generated from freſh hatreds and revenge, ſeeing that the exaltation of the popular faction, patroniſed as it was by the ſupreme magiſtrate, would prove their depreſſion, they proceeded in a few months to arms and war between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Part of the multitude took ſide with the Guelphs, while the reſt remained neuter; and many of the faction of Ghibellines were driven out of the city, at the head of whom was M. Niccolo Buonſignori, a man of great reputation, and for his valour in great credit with the ſoldiers and princes of thoſe times. His fame had procured him many followers of the Ghibelline faction;

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and having received information that the Ghibellines, who, after his departure, had remained in Siena, were grievouſly oppreſſed by Orſini, the podeſta of that city, he wiſhed to deliver them from ſuch injuſtice and vindicate their cauſe. By the favour of the count of Santa Fiore, from whom he had no ſmall number of men, he approached one night to one of the gates, at which were aſſembled a concourſe of Ghibellines, in Siena, with whom he held a correſpondence, and had formed a ſecret concert; and having ſuddenly made a breach, he entered the city with his people, guided by ſeveral citizens, with whoſe aſſiſtance he fought all night, and the next day; but was driven out again together with the ſuccours of Spaniards which had been ſent them the ſame night by the duke of Florence. The battle upon this occaſion between the parties was general, for the bells of the commons, which were upon the tour of Mignanelli, had rung to arms, and the people had very generally riſen. Danger was confronted on all ſides, and the battle was furious. Although the Ghibellines had by force of arms made their way to the market, the Guelphs put them to flight, maſſacring many, and making many priſoners, leaving among the dead M. Jacomo Forteguerri, who was one of the heads of the faction. Niccolo found himſelf ſurrounded with a hoſt of his enemies; but, although on horſeback, he retreated, defending himſelf with that fierce intrepidity that ſo commonly appears in civil wars, and went out of the city through the ſame gate, accompanied by great numbers of the nobles of Ghibelline houſes, as the Forteguerri, Paliareſi, Salvani, Ugurgieri, Ragnoni, and others, who would not remain in the power of an enraged enemy, and retired to the territory of Rigomagno. This was on the 15th of July 1281.

Matthew

Matthew Orſini, the Roman, being podeſta, was afterwards ſent by the magiſtrates of Siena, the fifteen governors and defenders of the commons and people of Siena, with an army compoſed of the men of the third of San Martino, and other people commanded from other thirds, to attack the Ghibellines in Rigomagno. Here the exiles had fortified themſelves, and when attacked, as they had expected, defended their ſtrong hold with great bravery but at length were forced to evacuate it, and leave the ground to the Guelphs, who having, at the expenſe of much ſlaughter on both ſides, got poſſeſſion of it, razed the walls, and cut off the head of Neri de Belmonte, a captain of the Ghibellines, whom they had taken priſoner, in retaliation for a ſimilar ſeverity committed by them on Ridolfo della Treguena, a few years before, when they defeated the Guelphs at Pari.

In 1282 the count Silvatico di Conti Guidi was podeſta, and the Sieneſe, the other caſtles of their ſtate being intimidated by the examples made at Rigomagno, ſent them orders not to receive the exiles, nor any other Ghibellines, but to reſiſt them in arms, to demoliſh the walls of Monte Fallonica, thoſe of St. Agnolo in Colle, and thoſe of Monticiano, in which territories M. Niccolo Buonſignori had attempted to make a ſtand, and from which he made a predatory war upon Siena, for ſeveral months, with ſeveral exiles from that city and other places. Martin the Fourth, a Frenchman ſucceeded to the Pontificate, and by his favour king Charles regained his former credit in the cities of Tuſcany, and was reſtored to the dignity of ſenator of Rome, to the infinite diſſatisfaction of the Ghibelline party, who, upon this occaſion were wholly deprived of any ſhare in the government by the triumphant Guelphs, both in Siena,

Siena, and in many other cities; and this is ever the object of a prevalent faction, or a decided majority, to monopolize the whole government to themſelves, by the total excluſion of the minority; and when poſſeſſed of the whole legiſlative, executive, and judicial power, they drive into exile, confiſcate, behead, and oppreſs, in every way, without controul. The Sicilians broke out in rebellion againſt Charles, and while his forces were employed in attempting to reduce them, the Sieneſe of the Guelph party, who governed the republic, to prevent their Ghibelline exiles and rebels from attempting ſome innovation, by taking advantage of the revolution in Sicily againſt king Charles, the head and protector of the Guelphs, ſent a new army into the country to perſecute and plunder the Ghibellines; and this year the fifteen governors and defenders of the people and commons of Siena, the conſuls of the merchants, the conſuls of the manufacturers in wool, the ſeigniors of the other arts, the ſeigniors gonfaloniers of the companies, and the captains of the country, were all congregated together with the podeſta in the general council, and a treaty made with Ranieri de Conti D'Elci and ſeveral other lords. A war continued between Charles, and Peter king of Aragon; and in 1283 Charles died, which again raiſed the hopes of the Ghibellines, and excited them to arms in Romagna, and in the territories of Siena, where they did infinite miſchief, ſometimes approaching and entering the city itſelf. At laſt an army was raiſed, and they were put to flight. If this vigorous exertion had not prevented them, they were in a fair way of regaining the aſcendency in the city, where great diſcontents prevailed; for the government in 1280, having been placed entirely in the hands of the popular party as has been related

lated, the gentlemen could not with quiet minds ſubmit to it; and although by the diviſions among them into Guelphs and Ghibellines, they were diſunited among themſelves, it was much feared by the ruling party, that when the enemy ſhould approach the city they would endeavour by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the popular men (for theſe too were divided) to make themſelves maſters of ſome part of the ſtate, with their arms, although they had not been able to obtain it by their beans. The Sieneſe, in determining all queſtions in their councils, and among their magiſtrates, made uſe of beans as votes, white ones for the affirmative, and black for the negative. The governing party knowing that by the death of Charles, and the other adverſities which followed it, the party of the Guelphs was much debilitated, they thought it neceſſary in this year 1284, to make many new proviſions for the ſecurity of the ſtate: among which, as they could not confide in the multitude, they thought to reſtrain the government to a ſmaller number of perſons, it appearing to them that they could more ſecurely confide in a few, whoſe virtue being united, would have the greater ſtrength than if dilated among many, and that they might more eaſily agree among themſelves, treat with greater ſecrecy, determine their reſolutions, and decide upon execution for the defence of the ſtate. After long and angry controverſies they concurred, though with little ſatisfaction to any body, in one opinion, to ſatisfy the nobles, that the fifteen magiſtrates ſhould be reduced to nine; and this was the original of the order of the nine in Siena: and that they might with more convenience attend upon the public, without being interrupted by their private affairs, it was ordained, that they ſhould continue for two months, continually

nually aſſembled in the ſame palace, and live at the expence of the republic; and it was declared that in this office, denominated The Nine Governors and Defenders of the Commons and People of Siena, although the nobles were to have a part in all the other magiſtracies, no noblemen could be elected. The ſtatute ſays, "De numero, dominorum novem, vel ipſius officii officialis non poſſit aliquis de aliquo caſato civitatis Senenſis, nec aliquis nobilis de civitate, vel juriſdictione Senenſis. Domini novem, qui ſunt, et eſſe debent defenſores communis et populi civitatis Senenſis, et diſtrictus, ac juriſdictionis ejuſdem, ſint et eſſe debent de mercatoribus, et de numero mercatorum civitatis prædictæ, vel de media gente." The nature of the animal is no where revealed in ſtronger characters than in this curious record, where a government in one centre, and that centre a group of merchants, with unbluſhing heads, exclude not only all the plebeians and loweſt claſs of labourers, but all the artiſts, mechanics, and men of the three liberal profeſſions, and all the landholders of the country, and monopolize all to themſelves, as they would monopolize a merchandiſe or foreſtall a market.—There appears a ridiculous variation of the numbers of this magiſtracy for many years together, as if they thought the faults of the government, which every one felt, were owing to this ciurcumſtance; and the ſame fickleneſs appeared in all the other cities of Italy, particularly Florence, where the number of priori were once three, then ſix, afterwards twelve, preſently eight*. This form of government was as deteſtable to the plebeians as to the nobles;

* Quare quatuordecim virorum officio, qui mixti ex utroque genere, civitatem regebant antiquata, priores artium creavere, tres ab initio creatos conſtat, poſtea ſex, inde duodecim, mox octo, publicis ædibus incluſi, nec aliud

nobles; and the wars between Genoa and Piſa, and the expeditions againſt rebellious lords, and the death of four princes in this year, 1285, Charles, Philip, Peter, and Martin the pope, could not prevent the Ghibellines, and the common people, il popolo minuto, of Siena from uniting againſt the nine; for, on the ſucceſſion of Honorius the Fourth to the papacy in the place of Martin, and after the death of Charles, his ſon being a priſoner to the Arragoneſe, a weakneſs appeared among the Guelphs, and the Ghibelline exiles of Siena took courage, aſſiſted by the people of Arezzo, to take poſſeſſion by ſurpriſe of a Sieneſe caſtle, named Poggio a Santa Cicilia, which they fortified: from hence, with troops of horſe, they made continual incurſions and depredations, not only upon the country of Siena, but other confederated cities of the Guelph party, until the Sieneſe, after a ſiege of ſix months, unable to take it by force, had reduced it by famine, in 1286. A great number of priſoners were made, and, after demoliſhing the walls, delivered to the podeſta to be puniſhed. The people, however, were ſo oppreſſed by their popular mercantile government, and preferred that of the nobles ſo much, that they took their part, roſe in convulſions, joined the Ghibellines in arms, and with great impetuoſity ruſhed to the palace, and compelled the nine governors and defenders of the commons and people of Siena, and their podeſta, Bartolomeo de Maggi of Breſcia, to deliver the priſoners into their hands, to be conducted to the houſe of the biſhoprick, to ſave their lives. But no ſooner had they come out of the palace than the Guelphs' who

ud quicquam, quàm de republicæ cogitare Juſſi ſunt, et ſumptus ex publico eis præbiti, tempus autem hujus magiſtratus bimeſtre conſtitutum eſt. Leonardo Aretino. Malavolti, lib. iii. part ii. p. 51.

by

by order of the magiſtrates had been ſummoned, and united with the ſoldiers of the guards and garriſons, a kind of ſtanding army maintained for the defence of the ſtate, proceeded to oppoſe and affront the Ghibellines, who with the popolo minuto had excited this ſedition, and finding that theſe, thinking the priſoners ſafe, had begun to diſperſe, attacked them with great fury, aſſaſſinating many, and putting the reſt to flight, recovered the priſoners, and cut off their heads, to the number of ſixty-five, among whom were ſeveral principal characters. The union of the plebeians, the popolo minuto, with the nobles and Ghibellines againſt the government of the commons and Guelphs, is not leſs remarkable than the diſtinction eſtabliſhed by their very title between the commons and people. Both are perfectly natural, for the popolo graſſo can never bear to be mixed with the popolo minuto, any more than nobles to be confounded with commons, and the union of the labourers and mechanics with the nobles, againſt a government of dogmatical merchants, by whom they were oppreſſed, was as natural as that which has ſo often happened of the people with a monarch, againſt the tyranny of nobles and patricians. The general ſenſe of the city upon this occaſion appears to have been in favour of the nobles, and their opportunity was loſt, merely by the weakneſs of the human underſtanding, which ſeldom knows how to ſeize with promptitude and deciſion the critical moment which decides ſo many great events. The Ghibellines were not, however, ſuppreſſed; they continued to aſſemble in the country, and unite in bodies from various cities, and commit frequent depredations, and lay waſte the country both of Florence and Siena. Theſe civil wars continued, without inter-

ruption, between the cities and their exiles, with various fortune, till 1292, when Siena became ſo weak, and the government ſo tyrannical, as to force the nobles to ſell their lands, houſes, and caſtles, to bear the expence of defending that government, from which they were ſo arbitrarily excluded. Proſecuting the war abroad againſt the Ghibellines, and plundering the nobles at home, they ſuppreſſed both at laſt, and began to entertain lofty thoughts; built, at the public expence, magnificent palaces for the ſignori of the commons of Siena, to give the government more authority, majeſty, and ſtrength, and the more effectually to trample down the pride of the nobility. To this end, as the ambitious deſires of men are inſatiable, although Siena was at full peace, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion or apprehenſion of the Ghibellines, the nine magiſtrates, who had the abſolute power of the city, taking occaſion of the many private enmities and perſonal hatreds, which had grown up and were habitual, and even hereditary, between many noble families, ordered that 300 men ſhould always ſtand in arms in each third of the city pretending to obviate any ſcandalous rencounter that might ſuddenly ariſe between one family and another. To theſe ſtanding guards they gave arms and enſigns, with orders that, at the ringing of the bells, they ſhould all march to the piazza; and a complete arrangement of orders were given, that at the call of the magiſtrates they ſhould be ready to quell the ſcandals and quarrels which, to the great danger of the public as well as private perſons, they ſaid aroſe from the diſcords of the gentlemen: and to prevent the gentlemen in ſuch caſes from moving on horſeback, or otherwiſe, they placed at the head of every ſtreet, and

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even at every corner, an enormous iron chain, to be drawn upon occaſion acroſs the ſtreet, and prevent their paſſage. Under this colour of preventing diſorders and tumults, to be occaſioned by the diſcords among the noble houſes, the popular party were thus armed without contradiction, not ſo much to prevent the pretended diſorders, as to ſecure themſelves from any attempt of the nobles, if ever they ſhould unite among themſelves to reinſtate themſelves in their dignities, and obtain a reſtoration to that ſhare in the government which was their undoubted right; for the conſciences of theſe marchantile demagogues muſt have taught them, that if the nobles had no more, they had at leaſt an equal right with themſelves, or any others, to participate in government; and thus thoſe public arms, which had been provided by their anceſtors for the conſervation of their country and their liberties, were now moſt inſolently converted into the weapons of civil war, and turned by the cunning of one party againſt the rights of another: and wether this plague of the city of Siena, and all the other republics of Italy, was produced by the natural pride of the nobility impatiently borne by the people, or by the immoderate jealouſy and envy of the people, or whether by both together, it was not the leſs fatal to all the Tuſcan republics, by conducting them to that deſtruction, to which all republics have been devoted when ſubjected to any government in one centre, whether that centre be the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the multitude, or the ambitious and avaricious diſcords of the few. The nobles were at this period perſecuted, not only in Siena, but in all the other cities of Tuſcany, and deprived of all ſhare in government; and thoſe who were in power held

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in ſuch deteſtation the very name of nobility, that, thinking the judgments of others would follow their paſſions and prejudices, they ordained by public laws, that ſuch as would formally and ſolemnly renounce their nobility, and declare that they were *no gentlemen*, ſhould become qualified to be in the government, and to be admitted into the ſupreme magiſtracy: in ſuch contempt, at this time and by theſe men, were held thoſe advantages and that character, which in other places have ever been moſt ardently deſired and ſought, at every hazard of life and fortune, and which the ſons and deſcendents of theſe very merchants have with ſo much avidity ſince claimed, inſiſting on being entituled to the rank and title of nobles and gentlemen, merely becauſe deſcended from magiſtrates holding the power of the ſtate. Having thus excluded all gentlemen from the adminiſtration of the republic, and extinguiſhed all their hopes of ever recovering it, theſe tyrants, the nine magiſtrates, had the aſſurance to conſtitute a new regimen, which, under the name of a popular government, tended more to the power of a few, than to the univerſal or even general participation of law and right; and this reſtriction to a few, although it was injurious and oppreſſive to many, is ſaid to have been more uſeful to the ſtate, and of longer duration, than if it had been participated by many. Perhaps it is univerſally true that if the whole government muſt reſide in a ſingle aſſembly, it is more ſafe, peaceful, and durable in a few hands than in many, an ariſtocracy than a democracy. Having modelled the government according to their own paſſions, intereſt, and convenience, they proceeded to ſubdue the rebellious mountains and caſtles in the country. It was in the year, 1299, the houſe of Auſtria

Auſtria had its original, in the elevation of Albert to the empire

The wars againſt the Turks, and in Sicily and Flanders, occupied the ſpirits in ſome degree till 1302, when the many enmities among the noble houſes in Siena were renewed with as much boldneſs and violence as ever, which occaſioned frequent tumults, and continual agitation in the city; parties meeting in arms, ſometimes upon one incident and ſometimes on another, and many of all ſides falling victims to their fury; and, from the number of clients and adherents to theſe families, all the orders of government for maintaining in each third of the city an armed guard were not ſufficient to preſerve the peace, and, the magiſtrates feared, would not long be able to keep the nobles out of the government; they therefore thought it prudent to try another method. When any quarrel broke out the nine magiſtrates ſent for the heads of thoſe families which were engaged in the brawl, and endeavoured to reconcile them; and in this way they ſucceeded, in ſome degree, to reconcile the Malavolti and Salimbeni, the Gigli and Squarcialupi, the Piccolomini and Pelacini, the Tegolei and Malavolti, and many others. The major part of the Guelph cities of Tuſcany, in 1303, were delivered from the diſcords and dangers which they had with the Ghibellines, in conſequence of the victory obtained over them at Campaldino; but having nobody to fight with, as if they were incapable of quiet and impatient of reſt, the Guelphs divided themſelves into two factions, the one called Bianchi, and the other Neri. This pernicious diſtinction had its beginning in Piſtoia, in the family of the Cancellieri, whence, ſpreading through many other cities, it infected the whole province of Tuſcany, and

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part of Romagna. The city of Siena preſerved itſelf ſome time from this venomous contagion, though naturally inclined to diviſions, chiefly by the conſtant occupation they already had in their quarrels between the people and the gentlemen, which would not allow time for new conteſts. This diviſion, however, broke out in Florence, very near them in neighbourhood, where, after many ſkirmiſhes in arms, the Bianchi were overcome by the Neri, and expelled from the city; and all the influence of the pope, with his ſpiritual armour, could not reconcile them. The Bianchi now in exile, though Guelphs, united with the Ghibellines, and, aſſiſted by the Aretines and Boloneſe of the ſame faction, made an attempt, in 1304, upon Florence; but ſome cavalry, ſent from Siena, put them to flight. The detail of altercations and civil wars, within and without, between theſe complicated and contradictory mixtures of Neri and Bianchi, Guelphs and Ghibellines, nobles and commons, from this time to 1309, is too minute to be related, although there was no pauſe, no interval of quiet. In this year the quarrels between the nobles, particularly the families of Tolomei and Salimbeni, ariſing merely from their envy of each other, and their emulations in feaſting and entertainments, broke out anew. Though excluded from government though plundered in property, theſe families had ſtill admirers, followers, and adherents among the people, who made them formidable to the magiſtrates, gave them more influence to weaken the government, more than they poſſibly could have done with their whole ſhare in a well conſtituted ſtate. All the nobles, with all their followers, who were very numerous, became divided by this private quarrel into two parties, as well as the

multitude

multitude of people, their friends and adherents in the counties, or feigniories in the country. Wonderful was the jealouſy of thoſe in government, and their apprehenſion for the ſafety of the ſtate; and to ſecure it, as they pretended, from all danger that might ariſe, to repreſs the temerity and pride of the ſeditious, they ordained, that for every company, in town or country, of forty-two, ſince the nobility were excluded, there ſhould be appointed one captain and one gonfalonier, as there uſed to be anciently, when the city made their exerciſes in the country; that this militia, whenever any tumult ſhould be perceived, and in all other emergencies, ſhould hold their men in arms (but none of the nobility were to be admitted among them, as they were in former times, when the companies were of fifty-nine) and in companies, under the command of the gonfalonier of the third, march in all haſte to the palace with their public enſigns, and there receive and obey the orders, which ſhould be given them by the magiſtracy of the nine. For the ſame purpoſe they ordained three centurions, three commanders of brigades, and eleven vicariates, each of whom had his own diſtinct enſigns and colours. But this whole ſyſtem of Forty-two armed companies, their captains gonfaloniers, and centurions, formed *in appearance* for the common ſervice, and under colour of ſuppreſſing the feuds of the grandees, the principals of the party who governed the city, thought to purſue their own inordinate deſire of reducing the government to a ſmaller number of perſons by means of the public arms, of which, by this artifice, they made themſelves maſters. They therfore prohibited not only the noblemen, but many of thoſe popular perſons who had many years before, ennobled themſelves, and acquired the

the name of families, to enjoy the benefit of the law, which in the beginning of the preſent form of government had been made, that thoſe who would renounce their nobility, and reduce themſelves to the popular order, ſhould be capable of being magiſtrates. Taking occaſion of a little tumult on the 26th of May 1310, which they themſelves excited, they ſounded the alarm, and called together at the palace their whole military force; and inſtead of proceeding to ſuppreſs riots, or puniſh criminals, it was there declared, by thoſe citizens who had arrogated to themſelves the whole government, that thoſe families which were named in writing ſhould never be of the number of popular families, but they and their deſcendants, for ever, ſhould be underſtood to be grandees, and incapable of ſerving in the office of the nine, then the ſupreme magiſtracy, as all of the Ghibelline party had been rendered incapable before: and this practice was common at this period in all the other cities of Tuſcany, as well as in Siena, whenever the governing party had a mind to exclude any man from the magiſtracy, to make him a grandee, which is the ſame thing as a noble. Ninety families were admoniſhed, as the phraſe was, that is, rendered incapable of the magiſtracy, for being noble, or for being made and declared ſo, a number that comprehended all the families of any diſtinction or conſideration. Having thus reduced the government to a ſmall number, by excluding every body but themſelves, they became very aſſiduous in attending the magiſtracy, in order to make the moſt of it; and in a ſhort time they acquired ſo great an authority, ſo much wealth and power, that they became formidable not only to the nobles, but to that part of the people which was not admitted by them into the government.

ment. Holding down all others, they eſtabliſhed their own power in the ſtate ſo oligarchically, that, like other deſpots, they were obeyed by every one from fear. The Ghibelline exiles, however, made frequent inroads upon their territories: and the diſqualified families had ſo many friends, that theſe nine magiſtrates were kept in continual alarms. In 1313, ſome of the nobles apppeared to have ſo much influence, that the government thought it neceſſary to re-enact and republiſh their militia law, and the law of excluſion of all the nobles and grandees, depriving them of all the honours, offices, and privileges of the commons. They ſometimes thought themſelves ſo ſecure that they might recal their exiles, then would ſuddedly ſeize and impriſon them; and were generally employed in foreign or domeſtic wars, or in quelling ſome rebellion, till 1315, when a freſh quarrel broke out between the Tolomei and Salimbeni, two noble families, and produced tumults and battles in the ſtreets, in which much blood was ſhed, and the city thrown into ſuch confuſion, that the militia, when called out, would not, or could not, obey the orders either of the magiſtrates or ther own officers. The whole people took arms, and ſided with one party and another, ſome for government, ſome for the Tolomei, ſome for the Salimbeni, till the nine iſſued a proclamation, that, upon penalty of life and fortune, both parties ſhould appear in their preſence, before a candle, which they had burning, ſhould be conſumed.

Wars and tumults occupied the citizens till 1318, when, upon the diſbanding the army at the peace with the city of Maſſa, the troops and the people in general, who expected to have plundered it, were very diſcontented, and two claſſes of

tradeſmen, the ſmiths and the butchers, began a riot in the city againſt their captain, calling him traitor, and collecting tumultuous bodies of the multitude. The captain, finding himſelf in great danger, contrived to eſcape their fury, in which he was favoured by ſome noblemen, who, by entertaining the people with ſoft words, compoſed their anger, and, as they had neither any head nor guide, they were eaſily perſuaded to go home. Although this tumult was quieted in appearance, the minds of the citizens were much altered, and there was danger of freſh commotions. To avoid greater inconvenience, ſeeing that the greater part of the plebeians ſtood in arms through fear, with their ſhops ſhut, to defend themſelves from puniſhment, the magiſtrates abſolved them from all penalties incurred by thoſe who had been in arms in the late tumult, and commanded, under grievous penalties, that every one, laying down his arms, ſhould return to his buſineſs. It would have been a notable thing, if, in a factious city like Siena, quieted as it was from foreign wars, new ſeditions and civil wars had not been fomented within: but diſcontents with the government were now univerſal. The nobility, the plebeians and the middling people, being all excluded from the government, excepting the nine, were all oppreſſed and all provoked. The doctors, as they called the judges and notaries, were of a rank and character as nearly in the middle between the nobles and plebeians as any. Theſe, excited by the perſuaſions of the other perſons, and moved by their own intereſt, came forward, and demanded or petitioned the nine to be admitted into the government of the city, and to be declared capable of ſerving in the ſupreme magiſtracy of the republic. Reaſons the moſt ſolid an cogent, as they

they thought, were urged by them, to ſhew that their pretenſions were but juſt and reaſonable: It appeared to the nine ſignori, that this petition was impertinent, and an offence that merited not only correction, but a ſevere chaſtiſement; and having rejected it with much bitterneſs, they declared the puniſhment of which thoſe ſhall be adjudged worthy, who, from ſuch *intereſted motives*, ſhould ſeek to diſturb the civil orders, and interrupt the common quiet of the city. The doctors and notaries they diſmiſſed from their offices, and declared them incapable of holding any office in the city or country. This high-ſpirited edict excited the indignation and diſpair of the doctors and notaries, and they entered into a conſpiracy with the butchers, ſmiths, and other plepeians, to aſſaſſinate the whole nine, with all their adherents, take poſſeſſion of the palace, make themſelves maſters of the ſtate, and appoint one of the Tolomei, who favoured the enterpriſe, podeſta, another nobleman captain a third proconſul, and thus to diſtribute all the offices of ſtate among their leaders in the conſpiracy. With this intention, on the 26th of October, 1318, the conſpirators aroſe in a tumult, raiſed a loud cry againſt the nine, and demanded, with arms in their hands, a participation in the government; but they were ſoon met by a large body of cavalry, and three hundred infantry, who were then kept in pay, to be ſent to Genoa in the ſervice of king Robert, and whom the nine magiſtrates, having ſome intimation of this enterpriſe, for their ſecurity had ordered out, not willing to truſt their own gaurds alone. A furious battle enſued, and much bravery was diſplayed on both ſides; but as the commotion had been excited by the plebeians themſelves, and was encouraged but faintly by the nobility, chiefly with

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a view to try their ſtrength, the forces of government prevailed: yet the plebeians ſuſtained the ſhock with more firmneſs than was expected; and, if they had been judicious enough to wait till the regular troops were gone to Genoa, would have carried their point. The greater part of the gonfaloniers, centurions, and captains, concurred with the multitude, in deſiring to acquire the benefits of civil life, and the rights of citizens; but the magiſtrates were favoured by one part of the gentlemen, who were not well pleaſed that the government of the city ſhould be reduced totally into the hands of the plebeians, and thus obtained from Florence ſome forces, under the command of Bingeri Rucellai, by whoſe aſſiſtance the multitude were finally diſperſed, being firſt diſheartened by the non-appearance of their leaders. Some of the leaders of the butchers, &c. were beheaded, and Rucellai rewarded with the enſign of the white lion, the arms of the people of Siena. When the tumult was quieted, and the city purged by the puniſhment of the principal delinquents, the nine ſent ſuccours to king Robert at Genoa, and to the Guelphs at Breſcia, Cremona, and Perugia; and thus they became employed in the wars abroad: but even this was not enough, in 1324, to prevent the feuds between the two noble families, the Tolomei and Salimbeni, whoſe hatreds produced many murders and aſſaſſinations, many other ſingle combats, beſides more general and more ſanguinary actions between parties of their followers in the ſtreets, both by night and by day. In 1325 the Guelphs were defeated by Caſtruccio Caſtracani, ſignior of Lucca, near the caſtle of Allopaſcio, in which he made a great ſlaughter, and many priſoners, and brought both Florence and Siena into imminent danger; but this was not ſufficient

ſufficient to prevent another tumult, in which the podeſta took one part, and the captain another, many were inſulted, ſome ſlain, and the diſorder not ſuppreſſed without grievous fines and capital puniſhments.

In 1326, Walter duke of Athens, vicar of the duke of Calabria in Florence, came to Siena, and demanded the ſeigniory of that city, in the ſame manner as he had obtained that of Florence. The demand appeared to the citizens very ſtrange, though they treated him with great magnificence. They thought it proceeded from a very bad principle, and worſe intentions, conſidering the ſincere and affectionate attachment which they and their anceſtors had ever, with the utmoſt veneration, demonſtrated for his houſe, and the great and many tokens of fidelity, which from their actions might be known, towards king Robert, king Charles the Firſt and Second, and towards all their connexions on all occaſions: and as it appeared to them, that they were outrageouſly inſulted, and by him from whom they leaſt expected it, they ſuddenly roſe in a great tumult in arms, and, drawing the chains acroſs the ſtreets, ſhut up their gates, leſt the Florentines ſhould ſend a reinforcement. They prepared not only for defence, but, their ſuſpicions increaſing, with all their forces to attack the lodgings of the duke himſelf at the biſhop's palace, and give battle to his people. Such a commotion and concourſe of ſo numerous an armed multitude, under ſo many ſtandards of their companies and vicariates, demonſtrating that in this the city was united, and not divided, as had been repreſented to the duke, upon the ſuppoſition of which diviſion he had founded his demand, ſpread a terror among his followers; and demanding to ſpeak with the magiſtrates,

giſtrates, it was agreed, that the requiſition of the duke ſhould be referred to a ſenate: and ſuch an aſſembly was accordingly congregated, to the number of four hundred and eighty ſenators, who, after long debates, having regard both to the liberty of the republic and the honour of the duke, determined that Charles duke of Calabria ſhould have, for five years, and no longer, power to elect the podeſta of Siena from the number of three, who ſhould be propoſed to him by the people of Siena; that he ſhould not, however, be called podeſta, but vicar of the duke, on condition that every vicar, before he ſhould take upon him the office, ſhould take an oath to obſerve the laws and ſtatutes of the city of Siena; and the citizens well knowing of how much detriment to cities are diviſions and animoſities, the duke eaſily perſuaded the Salimbeni and Tolomei to make a truce for five years.

In 1328, the nine magiſtrates made a cenſus, or deſcription of the families of the city, third by third, and there were found eleven thouſand ſeven hundred and eleven heads of families in the whole, nobles, grandees, ſubſtantial people, and leſſer people, all together.

The calamities of famine and peſtilence, as well as war and ſedition, which happened in 1329 and 1330, though the magiſtracy of nine diſcovered too much inſenſibility, and too little activity, to relieve the people, we paſs over, as evils not proceeding immediately from the form of government, and too afflicting to humanity to be related.

In 1331, a freſh affray happened between the two great families of Salimbeni and Tolomei. The inveteracy with which ancient and honoured families take hold of a nation, and become inter-

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woven with each other and the whole people, ſo that it is impoſſible to get rid of their influence, appears very ſtrongly on this occaſion. Though excluded and robbed, they could not diſpute without ſetting the whole city to diſputing. The rencounter between two noblemen, in which one was killed produced the aſſaſſination of another, and the whole city took the part of the one or the other, and tumults and commotions in arms threatened univerſal ruin, till the government iſſued a proclamation againſt the two principal actors, offered rewards for their lives as aſſaſſins, and raiſed a force to confirm it, which obliged them to fly to Ferrara, where they and the other Tolomei, their deſcendants, were long afterwards known by the nickname of The Aſſaſſins. But this could not prevent freſh tumults and homicides in Siena, between the ſame families, in 1332; nor others between the Malavolti and Piccolomini, in 1333, which were renewed in 1334, notwithſtanding the employment the city had, through this whole period, in foreign affairs. In 1335 the league was renewed between the Guelph cities, and particularly between Siena and Florence. In 1337 an accommodation was attempted between the quarrelſome nobles, but without much effect; but in 1342 their ungovernable paſſions broke out again in homicides and general tumults.

In 1343 the duke of Athens attempted to promote his own ambitious views of obtaining the ſovereignty of Siena, by pretending to mediate between the nobles and the nine, and to reconcile them with each other: but his diſſimulation was not profound enough to deceive either party. In this year there were three conſpiracies at once againſt the duke of Athens at Florence, and the government of Siena ſent ambaſſadors to his aſſiſtance;

aſſiſtance; but the people in their fury had committed great diſorders and many homicides, and finally beſieged the duke in his palace for a time, and then drove him out of the city: after which, by the advice of the Sieneſe ambaſſadors, they reformed their government, inſtituting eight priori, four of them noble and four popular; but this form was ſoon demoliſhed, and the government became as popular as that of Siena itſelf; the nobles were excluded, and tempted to renounce their nobility, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame whimſical, odious, and vicious effects.

In 1344 the counts of Santa Fiore, and the viſconti de Campiglia were made citizens of Siena, and ſubjected their lands to the republic. In the year 1346 another memorable commotion happened. Such is the nature or the people, that, ever deſirous of ſeeing new things, they hold frequently in contempt thoſe that are preſent: governed more by their wills than their prudence, and excited by vain hopes and immoderate deſires, they are too often eaſily ſtimulated to enterpriſes, which, if regarded with an eye of reaſon, would be found impracticable. The government of the nine, by the length of time, by their arbitrary excluſions, and by their more arbitrary reſtriction to ſo ſmall a number, were grown ſo odious, not only to the nobles, but to a great part of the multitude, that neither could patiently bear that a few popular men ſhould enjoy every thing, and be maſters of all men, when it appeared to them that others had more merit. From converſations and conſultations they proceeded to action, and many popular men having aſſociated under Spinelloccio Tolomei, they roſe in a mighty tumult. There is no room to doubt that they would have riſen long before, and not have ſuffered ſuch a government

government to ſtand a month, nor indeed to be erected at all, if the Tolomei and Salimbeni, the Malavolti and Piccolomini, could have agreed who ſhould be the leader. The diviſions of the nobles among themſelves had alone loſt them the government, and prevented their recovering it. The pople in thoſe days, and in that city, were utterly incapable of planning or executing any enterpriſe whatever. A noiſy uproar of "Away with the Nine* !" ran through the city; but the inſurgents not having been able to force the palace, and having in vain attempted to enter ſeveral houſes of the nine magiſtrates, which were well guarded, ſome of them entered the houſe of Berto di Lotto, where there happened to be an entertainment, and found John Foſcherani, one of the principal men in the government. Him, with his ſon, who exerted himſelf nobly in defence of his father, they aſſaſſinated. The prepetrators of this murder, intimidated with the apprehenſion of puniſhment for what they had done, and perhaps made cowards by remorſe of conſcience, ruſhed out of the houſe, and committed themſelves to flight for ſafety; the reſt retired to the houſes of the heads of the conſpiracy, thinking to aſſemble a greater number of their partiſans, and again to try their fortune. This attempt however ill-digeſted and unſucceſsful, excited a terror in the magiſtrates, perceiving that a part of the nobility had concurred in it, and fearing they had not force ſufficient to ſuppreſs it. They found means, however, to defend themſelves, by a ſtrong guard, in the palace, till they received aſſiſtance from Florence, and other places in alliance with them, which enabled them to apprehend the conſpirators, by

* Muoiano i Nove.

means of the captain of war, many of whom were beheaded, and others declared rebels; after which they entered into a new league with the popular government of Florence, for mutual ſupport againſt ſuch inſurrections. This convention was concluded between the ſyndics of the commons of Florence, and the ſyndics of the commons of Siena, each party obliging itſelf to aid, favour, and ſupport, with their councils and arms, the other, and in every way to operate for the conſervation and maintenance of the peace between them, and the internal tranquillity of each, under the office of the ſignori, priori of the arts, and the gonfalonier of juſtice in Florence, and that of the ſignori of the nine governors and defenders of the commons and people of Siena, declaring that whatever conſpiracy or inſurrection ſhould be made againſt the magiſtrates or government of either city, ſhould be underſtood to be made againſt the other, and its whole force exerted for the deſtruction of the conſpirators. In 1348 another confederation was formed in Siena between the cities of Florence, Siena, Arezzo, and Perugia, and a large army raiſed by them; and in 1352 another againſt the Viſconti. In 1354, being at peace, and without much apprehenſion of any foreign war, there did not fail to ariſe in Siena perſons who ſpent their time in exciting new diſcontents as well as fomenting old humours, which they hoped would ſoon ariſe to ſeditions and civil war: for thoſe who, with the authority of the nine, had ſo long governed the city, had acquired, together with great power and immenſe riches, much envy among their fellow-citizens. This envy and reſentment had, upon many occaſions, given birth to conſpiracies and various enterpriſes for wreſting the authority out of their hands; and

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although they had defended themſelves, and puniſhed the principal delinquents, they had never been able to eradicate the ſeeds of ſedition ſo effectually, but that many remanis of it were left in the minds of their adherents, which went on continually increaſing by time, till the magiſtrates were ſeriouſly apprehenſive that the little people would attach themſelves to Charles the emperor, and by his aſſiſtance depoſe them. Deſirous of prepoſſeſſing themſelves of his favour, and moved by the perſuaſions of one of the Salimbeni, whom, on account of his enmity to many of the noble houſes, they had taken into their confidence, they ſent ambaſſadors to Charles, to offer him the obedience of the city; and, ſo ill a counſellor is fear, the majority, much againſt the judgment of many of their colleagues, were for ſubmitting freely, without any exception, or making any conditions, hoping by his aſſiſtance, or at leaſt without offence to him, or oppoſition from him, to re-eſtabliſh their authority; not conſidering, that having always been Guelphs, and by ſo many offences provoked the paſt emperors, particularly Henry the Seventh his grandfather, it would be impoſſible for him to judge whether they ſubmitted from fear or neceſſity, or to confide in their fidelity. But the hour was come when this form of government muſt be changed into another. Charles having in all appearance benignly acccepted the offer, diſſimulating his intentions, came to Siena: and ſoon after his arrival the little people, il popolo minuto, by Charles's orders, and guided by the Tolomei, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Saraceni, and even ſome of the Salimbeni, with a great and univerſal commotion of the whole city, roſe and drove out of the public palace the nine magiſtrates, not without robberies and murders committed by the rabble,

ble, who burnt the caſkets and boxes in which were kept the ballots of the nine magiſtrates, which every two months were drawn, one by each magiſtrate, for two months to come. Charles, by whoſe conſent and orders this novelty had been committed, gave a commiſſion to twenty citizens, twelve popular and eight noble, to think of a new plan of government. The twenty elected for this purpoſe, in three days, ordained that a new magiſtracy ſhould be inſtituted of twelve pupular members, and intitled The Twelve Signori, governors and adminiſtrators of the commonwealth of Siena, to be elected four from each third of the city, and, as the nine had done, to reſide in the palace at the public expence, and to be changed every two months, with full authority in every reſpect to adminiſter the government of the republic, in company, in all their deliberations, with twelve noblemen, four for each third, who might inhabit in the city in their own houſes, without being obliged to live in the palace, except when they ſhould be ſummoned to aſſemble with the twelve ſignori for the public ſervice, and diſpatch of buſineſs, as it ſhould occur; and this number of noblemen were called the College, without whom the ſignori could not come to any reſolution, or enter on any deliberation relative to the government of the city. A council, moreover, of four hundred citizens was ordained, one hundred and fifty of whom were to be nobles, and two hundred and fifty populars (of thoſe however who had not been of the office of the nine) who were to be elected and changed every ſix months, and this was called the General Council. The emperor, Charles the Fourth, after he had taken the crown, returned from Rome, and remained ſome days at Siena, where, finding little good underſtanding between the people and the nobility,

nobility, he took occaſion from their diſcords to attempt to make himſelf maſter of the city and the ſtate, and to inveſt it in the patriarch of Aquilea, his natural brother. To this end he courted the people, making many demonſtrations of benevolence, with many favours which he did them in public and private, and he operated upon them ſo that they were content to give him the ſovereignty, and put him in poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes; and in this manner the patriarch, having taken the government of the city, the twelve ſignori and the noble college finiſhed their office. The emperor, felicitating himſelf that he had provided his brother with a beautiful dominion, took leave of Siena, and went to Piſa; there, entering into negotiations, to make himſelf maſter, as he had done at Siena, he met with ſome difficulties, which ſoon multiplied upon him, in conſequence of the novelties which ſprung up in Siena: were one party of the citizens, not able to ſupport the ſovereignty of the patriarch, which trampled down the nobles and firſt pupulars, and ſtudiouſly ſtrove to aggrandize the minute people and the multitude, upon whom he juſtly thought his greatneſs depended, aroſe in arms, cloſed the gates of the city, and demanded that the magiſtrates of the ſignori of the twelve governors and adminiſtrators ſhould return and reſide in the palace, and together with the college, reaſſume the govenment of the republic; and that the chains which uſed to be drawn acroſs the ſtreets, which on the entrance of the emperor had been taken away, ſhould be replaced. Three days the city ſtood under arms before they obtained of the patriarch their demand. At length the magiſtrates were reinſtated, and the chains replaced. A new rumour was then ſpread in the city concerning certain ſtrangers, who had been taken up, who,

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it was reported, came for the ſervice of ſome noblemen. The little people, from jealouſy of ſtate, and ſuſpicion of plots and machinations, would have them hanged; but the nobility, with many of the* greater people, defended them. Upon theſe occaſions there was no adequate mode of deciding ſuch queſtions but by arms; to theſe they accordingly reſorted, and the twelve ſignori ſent to Piſa to demand aid from the emperor, who was found in great perplexity; and fearing that, by the inconſtancy of the people, the patriarch might meet with ſome fatal accident, he anſwered, that, upon condition they would conſult his brother's ſafety, they might model their government as they ſhould think proper; that he would not take any part in it, as he had no particular knowledge of their diſputes. The priſoners were therefore only confined, and the partriarch voluntarily renounced the ſovereignty to the twelve magiſtrates, who were already returned to the palace, and the day following reſtored the fortreſſes, and joined the emperor in Piſa, leaving the city and ſtate free, and the government, which he had held for a few days, in the hands of thoſe magiſtrates from whom he received it. In this manner, came to an end the government of the nine, who with ſo much temerity, from 1283, when this form had its beginning, under the protection of the king of Naples, and the union of the Guelphs cities in Tuſcany, had governed, and, it muſt be owned, aggrandized the republic; and thoſe popular men who had been of nine were not only deprived, with all their deſcendants, of the capacity of being in the government of the twelve but it was by a law enacted, that in the volume of the ſtatutes

* Molti de maggiori populari.

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the nine ſhould be eraſed, and the word twelve written in its place, in ſuch abhorrence were they now held by all men. Theſe decrees of the new government, it is true, were as arbitrary as any of the former; but the whole hiſtory of this republic is but a ſeries of changes, from one unbalanced party to another. The citizens who had held the laſt government were nicknamed the nine; and this name deſcended by inheritance to their poſterity, and give riſe to the order of the nine, and became the principle of thoſe diviſions, which went on increaſing among the people of this city, and became ſo ſanguinary as to make them forget the diſtinctions of Guelphs and Ghibellines nobles and populars: for the government of the republic was afterwards again reduced wholly into the hands of the people, and again reſtrained to a few, the deſire conſtantly increaſing in the popular multitude, firſt to participate, then to monopolize the whole, at it afterwards happened in the creation of the twelve, who became eligible excluſively by the little people.

The emperor ſoon returned to Germany, and the Sieneſe ſoon found their new ſyſtem as defective as the former. The whole government was ſtill in one aſſembly, and though the nobles were leſs than half of it, they appeared to have the whole power, as they always will when mixed with the commons. The noblemen proceeded in their offices too arbitrarily; the ſplendor of their birth and riches, accompanied with the public authority, acquired them too much credit, too impoſing an influence, and, in their uſual ſtrain, according to the lofty pride of their natures, they muſt needs govern all things. In order to diſcharge the duties of their offices, by exerting their authority, for the honour and utility of the ſtate, in defending its dominion, as well as to ſatisfy their

their own ambition, they had laid their hands upon the public arms. In the depoſition of the nine, the ſubjects of the ſtate, ſeeing ſo great an alteration in the city, and that thoſe who had been uſed to command were deprived of all power, and with ſo much cruelty and rancour perſecuted by the other citizens, thought that by ſuch diviſions the public muſt be too much weakened to defend the city, much leſs the dominion; and embracing this opportunity, Groſetto, Maſſa, Montalcino, Montepulciano, Caſole, and other lands in the juriſdiction of Siena, had refuſed obedience to the magiſtrates of the city, and to the, partriarch, for the few days that he held the ſoverignty. The new government, and eſpecially the nobles, were very zealous to ſend out forces to ſuppreſs theſe rebellions, who ſucceeded againſt Maſſa; but the inhabitants of Montepulciano attempted to practiſe a deceit: they ſent a falſe letter to the twelve, promiſing ſubmiſſion, in order to amuſe them, while they were in reality carring on their military operations. This letter was delivered to the ſignori of the twelve, who, without calling in the college of the twelve, as, according to the conſtitution, they ought to have done, opened and read it, and perceiving, by many manifeſt circumſtances, the impoſition, they hanged up in the piazza him who had brought the letter. The multitude were collected together by this execution, and the nobles were much exaſperated that the letter had been opened, and ſuch buſineſs done without their knowledge, and contrary to order. The popular leaders of the day took occaſion of this commotion to accompliſh their own deſires, ſallied out with a great noiſe of arms, put themſelves at the head of the mob, went to the houſes of many noblemen and of the nine, with intention to put all to pillage,

pillage, and force the noblemen to renounce the magiſtracy of the college, and would have proceeded to infamous lengths, if the graveſt and moſt moderate citizens had not appeared, and perſuaded the nobles to obviate all inconveniences by renouncing the government, in which they had diſcovered the beſt and ſincereſt intentions towards their country, and not more arbitrary diſpoſitions than the popular men. The council next day ordered, that three noblemen only, one for each third, ſhould be admitted into the government, with the title of The Three Defenders; but theſe in a few days were depoſed. That ſimilar tumults might not happen every hour, and throw all things into confuſion, they concluded to give an head to the twelve magiſtrates, and the public arms, by whoſe orders alone the gonfaloniers, captains of companies, and centurions, were to move. Inſtead of a captain of the people, whom they uſed to elect among foreigners, every ſix months, they ordained that ſome citizen of Siena ſhould be elected every two months; that he ſhould be a popular man, and one of the twelve adminiſtrators and governors, at whoſe deliberations he ſhould be preſent as a member. The captain was afterwards commonly elected in addition to the number of twelve. The government thus organized, they proceeded againſt the rebels.

Before the end of the ſame year, 1355, the plot of Gano, di Benedetto Macellaro, and his friends, was diſcovered. Theſe were the principal heads of the plebeians, the little people, that very faction that governed the city. Conſidering that, by the inconſtancy of their own multitude, it might happen to their own government of twelve as it had happened to the nine, they determined, for greater ſecurity and firmneſs to the ſtate, to re-

duce the government into the hands of one man, who, by his wiſdom, virtues, and the public authority, might, by cruſhing all ſeditions, conſolidate and maintain it. Signior Meio di M. Jacomo Tolommei, who they knew had been always favourable to the plebeians, and deſirous of making himſelf powerful by their means, to defend their liberty, was ſelected by them as the man of the people; to him they communicated their intentions, and found him very well diſpoſed to conform. Other writers have ſaid, that the firſt motion came from Meio, who perſuaded the heads of the plebeians to confer with their friends: however this might be, they were all frequently ſeen together in the houſe of Meio, to conſult upon meaſures for the execution of their plan. The viſits ſo often made by ſo many plebeians to this houſe were obſerved, and the twelve magiſtrates conceiving a ſuſpicion, gave orders to the conſervator, who had been introduced inſtead of the captain of war in criminal matters, to impriſon Gano, and the others, who were heads of the conſpiracy. Upon examination they confeſſed, that it was their intention, for the public good, to take the government from the twelve, and give it to Meio Tolommei, who might more eaſily preſerve the city free from ſeditions and civil wars. Gano's head was ſtruck off; and the others, who enjoyed the favour of ſome grandee, a thing that in ill conſtituted cities is eternally ſuperior to juſtice, were confined; but Meio, who with many others had fled from Siena, was with them declared rebels, and his palace demoliſhed.

In the year 1357 the emperor Charles the Fourth confirmed all the privileges of this popular government, and made the magiſtrate who governed the city of Siena vicar of the emperor.

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In 1362 Giovanni de Salimbeni, upon receiving ſome injury, or at leaſt taking ſome offence at the government, made himſelf the head of a conſpiracy of many noblemen, and many of thoſe popular men who, for having been of the magiſtracy of the nine, were admoniſhed, and rendered incapable of office, to take the government out of the hands, of the twelve, and reſtore it to the nine. But the ſecret was revealed to ſo many, that one at laſt informed the government; the plot was ordered by the twelve to be inquired into, and a very great number of conſiderable people ſeized, ſome beheaded, others baniſhed, and others impriſoned, and all this without any regular proceſs of law or formality of trial.

In 1363 a new magiſtracy was created, and called the Regulators who had the care of reviſing the accounts of thoſe who had the management of the public money, to ſee that the commons were not defrauded.

In 1365 freſh quarrels aroſe between the Malavolti and Tolomei, and a plot was diſcovered of the Piccolomini againſt the government of the twelve; and theſe families were ſubjected to heavy fines for their puniſhment, probably becauſe the government had not ſtrength to inflict a ſeverer chaſtiſement. And this timidity appeared to be well founded in another inſtance the ſame year, when their ambaſſadors returned from Rome, one of whom being attached to the nobles, had given offence to the twelve, by ſpeaking freely againſt them in his abſence; he was caſt into priſon; but the government were not able to puniſh him with death as they intended, for ſix noblemen appeared in arms to defend him. Theſe inſtances, with many others, ſhew, that however arbitrarily or ſeverely the nobles and moſt revered families

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are excluded, they will ever have a controuling influence over the government, when in one aſſembly of commons only, ſometimes by ſecret practices, at others by open force. Indeed, ſuch families are always in reality the heads of the factions that tear the ſtate, though, in appearance, they have no ſhare in it, as appeared more plainly the next year when thoſe twelve who had the government in their hands were afflicted beyond meaſure with fears of new animoſities and inſurrections againſt them. They found themſelves divided into two factions, one called the Caneſchi, and the other Graſſelli, the former the favourites of the Salimbeni, and the other of the Tolomei. Knowing that the nobility were irritated by the late impriſonment of their friend the ambaſſador, and by the deſign which the twelve had diſcovered, by means of falſe teſtimony, to take his life and confiſcate his eſtate, if he had not been defended by the nobles, they looked out for foreign aid, and ſent to the pope to obtain it: they ſent alſo ambaſſadors, ſome noble and ſome popular, to the emperor, to ſound his diſpoſition towards the republic. Among theſe was John Salimbeni, a man of prudence, very uſeful to the ſtate, and in high reputation abroad. His death at this time was a public calamity; for the twelve, dreading the union of the noble houſes, artfully introduced and excited among them every provocation to arms, to keep them divided, and excite one family againſt another. The nobles at laſt perceiving the malicious artifice, ſecretly united among themſelves, and ſtimulating a greater hatred to one another then ever, on the 2d of September, 1368 the firſt families armed themſelves, accompanied with their friends and adherents of all parties, as if they inended to come to a deciſive battle againſt

againſt each other, and thus unitedly, at one time, turned their arms againſt the magiſtracy of the twelve, and drove them out of the palace, taking poſſeſſion of the arms, and, without putting any to death, made themſelves maſters of the city and the ſtate. At once they new modelled the government, ordaining a magiſtracy of ten noblemen, and three of thoſe popular men who had been of the nine, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes, and ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor to obtain his confirmation of their new authority: but they found that ambaſſadors from the twelve, and thoſe plebeians who ſtill adhered to them, had arrived before them, to ſolicit Charles's aid to recover their power; and had filled the court with ſlanders, to ſuch a degree as to move the emperor's compaſſion in their own favour, and his indignation againſt their antagoniſts. He therefore amuſed the ambaſſadors of the latter with falſe promiſes, while he ſent Malateſta di Rimini to reinſtate the former; a deſign in which, by the treachery and ambition of the Salimbeni, he ſucceeded. As ſoon as it was known in Siena that Malateſta, with his forces, were approaching in the neighbourhood, the little people, in the intereſt of the twelve, aroſe ſuddenly and tumultuouſly in arms, and, with the aſſiſtance of the Salimbeni, forced open the gates to admit the imperial army, not without an obſtinate battle, however, which continued the whole day (September 24, 1368) and great ſlaughter. The government was thus again taken from the nobles, their houſes plundered, and themſelves driven out of the city to their caſtles in the country. The multitude of plebeians having taſted with the government of the city the ſweets of public honours, power, and riches, combatted furiouſly upon this occaſion;

ſion; and having, by the aid of Malateſta and the Salimbeni, been victorious, they reformed the government. Excluding the nobles, they inſtituted a council of one hundred and twenty-four popular men, whom they called The Council of Reformers, becauſe to them was given authority to reform the conſtitution. Sixty-two of theſe were of the plebeians, or little people, thirty-five of thoſe popular men who had been in the office of the twelve, and twenty-eight of thoſe who had been in the office of the nine, or of their deſcendants or aſſociates, who governed with the participation of Malateſta, who was in Siena the lieutenant or vicar of the emperor after the expulſion of the nobles. Theſe having held the government of the ſtate twenty-two days, and inhabited the palace of the ſignori, reinſtated the magiſtracy of the twelve, compoſed of five of the little people, four of the twelve, and three of the nine, who had been in the magiſtracy of the conſuls, together with ten gentlemen, and determined that all theſe ſhould be called The Twelve Lords Defenders of the people of Siena. They made a new box of magiſtrates, in which they put ſixty-one ballots, in each of which was contained a magiſtracy of twelve citizens, with the diſtribution before mentioned of five, four and three. By this we ſee, that a complete ariſtocracy was eſtabliſhed, and a very narrow one too, ſuch as may well be called an oligarchy, by this faction of the little people, or plebeians. The choice of magiſtrates was confined to fifty perſons only. They created alſo a general council of ſix hundred and fifty popular men, preſerving the ſame proportion of five, four and three, to continue till January next. To this council they joined another, called The Council of the Companies, to the number of two hundred and forty; and this is

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the firſt time that in the public books was written and preſerved the memory of the diviſions among the people: and thus, by creating magiſtrates expreſsly and avowedly by diſtributions of factions, of orders, and of mountains, as they did afterwards, they made their diſcords immortal. Animoſities, kept alive by theſe records, not only coſt the lives of an infinite number of individuals in the frequent and bloody innovations which followed, but finally proved the deſtruction of the whole commonwealth, and the eſtabliſhment of the domination of one man. So ſays the hiſtorian: but whether theſe records had exiſted or not, the calamities, and the iſſue of them, would have been the ſame, if they had not changed their government from one aſſembly to two, and ſeparated the executive authority from both. Scrambling for loaves and fiſhes, in an aſſembly of people, or repreſentatives or nobles, or in a mixture or union of both, will for ever have the ſame effects. Theſe reformers annulled all the deliberations and decrees made by the late magiſtracy of the nobles, except thoſe which contained the liberation of the baniſhed and condemned. Wiſhing to reward the noble houſe of Salimbeni for the benefit received from them, they gave them, in honour and recompence of their perfidy againſt the other nobles, five caſtles; and moreover, with privileges proportioned to their merit, they made them popular citizens, that they might be capable of being in the magiſtracy. The Salimbeni were the firſt who, after the example of Manlius, the firſt of the Romans, who from a patrician made himſelf a plebeian, and from a ſimilar caprice, renounced his nobility, that by the aid of the plebeians he might make himſelf maſter of the liberties of his country. So ſays the hiſtorian: and it is true

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there is a remarkable reſemblance between the rivalry of Manlius and Camillus, and that of the Salimbeni and Tolomei; and both examples are equally demonſtrative of the dangers and evils of a ſovereignty in one aſſembly. There will ever be two rival families to tear the vitals of the ſtate, and one or the other, perhaps both, will ſacrifice truth, right, honour, and liberty, to obtain the aſcendency. The nobles, now chaſed from the city, met at Cerreto Ciampoli, to conſult what they ought to do to regain their ſituations in the city. The magiſtrates of the twelve having intelligence of this aſſembly, declared ſix noblemen of the houſe of Cerretani rebels, which obliged them, with the others, to look out for ſome ſtrong place to make the ſeat of war. As they were to be treated as enemies, one part of the Tolomei took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Montieri, another that of Traguanda, the Malavolti occupied Caſtiglione, the Piccolomini Batignana, and others other caſtles, from whence they began to make war upon all the country of Siena, to intercept the ſupplies of proviſions, to demoliſh the mills, and to carry their depredations to the very walls, holding the people in continual alarm and terror, and the city in a manner beſieged, ſo that few had the courage to go in or out. The twelve defenders, in order to diſunite the nobles, pardoned all the others, and baniſhed only the Tolomei, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Cerretani, Sarracini, and Forteguerri, to the diſtance of twenty miles in the country, in lands ſubject to the emperor, upon penalty of life and fortune. This proclamation was not obeyed, and an amry was ſent, under command of the podeſta Simone di Spoleto, elected by Malateſta, to recover from the noblemen the lands they held of the commons

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of Siena; but returned without ſucceſs, to wait a better opportunity. It appeared by this time to the order of the twelve, that they had been immenſe loſers by the change of government; becauſe in the government of the nobles they had been deprived of nothing, but enjoyed the full ſhare of the faction of the twelve, without the participation of any other: at preſent they only ſhared a third part, and being ſtimulated by ambition, which oftener meaſures things by its will than its prudence, did not conſider thoſe dangers which concealed themſelves under their immoderate deſires. They perſuaded the little people, that by joining with them they could eaſily exclude, by force, the order of the nine from the regency. The people joining them in arms, ſoon put the plot in execution; but the ſame people, finding ſo eaſy and happy a ſucceſs, roſe in their courage, as they had no arms in their hands, began in their turn to think more of their own convenience, profit, pleaſure, and utility, than of their honour, integrity, or the public good, and, without ceremony, deprived the twelve alſo of their ſhare in adminiſtration; and burning the gate of the palace, and the major part of the public books, with a great noiſe, and univerſal convulſion of the city, dragged out of the palace the three of the nine, and the four of the twelve, who reſided in the office of the twelve lords defenders of the people of Siena. To avoid more ſcandalous exceſſes, and to put an end to the tumult of the people, who would not be ſatisfied nor quieted without a new order to reform the government of the city, by transferring it to the little people, or (to diſtinguiſh them more clearly from thoſe other popular men who had been of the party of the nine and of the party of the twelve) to thoſe

who were truly the plebeians, and altogether new men, becauſe (as the plebeians ſaid in Rome, when, in high wrath againſt the nobles, they created Terentius Varro conſul) thoſe plebeians, who had already been ennobled by ſerving in the government, deſpiſed the lower plebeians (la plebe baſſa) more, and ſhew themſelves more inimical to them, than the ancient nobility, Malateſta entered the palace, and elected eighteen of the little people, who, together with the five of the ſame ſort who remained in the palace of the twelve defenders, and three gonfaloniers of the thirds of the city, and four of the noble houſe of Salimbeni, reformed anew the government of the republic. Theſe meeting, without loſs of time, in the conſiſtory, which is the apartment where the ſignori uſually aſſembled, with Malateſta, confirming the council of M. Reame di M. Notto Salimbeni, made an election of ten of the little people, who, with the five who had remained in the palace, were to exerciſe the office, now augmented from twelve to fifteen defenders of the people of Siena, until the beginning of January next, with the ſame authority which thoſe had who exerciſed the office of the twelve governors and adminiſtrators of the republic of Siena before the ſecond day of September laſt. Thus the new magiſtrates were all made of popular men, who had not been of the nine, or of the twelve: and to the eighteen reformers, from the others ordered by Malateſta, they added a certain number, by the diſtribution of the companies, who, with the fifteen lords defenders, made the number of one hundred and fifty reformers, all of the leſſer people, who, with ample authority given them by Malateſta, as imperial vicar, were to reform the government. The twelve now perceiving their error,

error, and that, by attempting to uſurp upon others, they had loſt their own, they ſent, with the privity of the Salimbeni, to negotiate with the emperor yet at Rome, to the end that, paſſing on his return through Siena, he might effect their reſtoration to the ſtate. The popular men of the greater number, ſtill denominated in the public books The Little People, having information of that effort of the twelve, and conſidering that if the twelve ſhould unite with the nobles and the nine, and be aſſiſted by the arms of Charles, they might eaſily make themſelves maſters of the city, and ſeize the government, thought it more prudent to yield a part by conſent, than run the riſque of loſing the whole by force. Moved by this conſideration (ſuch is the inconſtancy of the multitude!) the reformers ordained, that thoſe factions which had been dragged from the palace ſhould return, and reſide in their offices with the fifteen defenders till the firſt of January, at which time they were to join in the ballot, and draw, from the boxes already made by the other reformers, three popular men, of whom the one who ſhould have the moſt votes in the council of the reformers was to be captain of the people, who proved to be Matteino di ſer Ventura Menzani, ſo that the magiſtracy conſiſted of the number of fifteen, of whom eight were of the little people, four of the twelve, and three of the nine. They declared, moreover, that the gonfaloniers of the thirds of the city, different from the gonfaloniers of the companies whom they were to command, ſhould be called Maſter Gonfaloniers, and ſhould always be of the little people, as the captain of the people; and the three counſellors of the ſame captain ſhould be taken, one from each ſort of people. This captain, with his counſellors and

and maſter gonfaloniers had full authority, in fact, though not according to the orders in the ſtatutes, and a diſcretionary power in all criminal caſes, but not in civil. From this reform had its firſt original the order of Reformers; for this name of reformers remained afterwards in thoſe popular men who were of the council of the laſt reformers, and deſcended to their poſterity, as it happened before to the nine and the twelve, all of whom had their origin from the people. This tripartite diviſion appeared to the reformers to be a moſt powerful cauſe of diviſions and diſcords, which they wiſhed to prevent, and therefore ordered theſe diſtinctions to be annulled, and the whole people to be united in one body, and that, when in any writing there ſhould be occaſion to mention the little people, it would be called the people of the greater number; that the party of the twelve ſhould be called the people of the middle number; and the nine, the people of the leſſer number*: but although the names of the factions were changed, the ſubſtance of things was not united. As theſe diſtinctions ariſe from that conſtitution of human nature, and courſe of its paſſions, which legiſlation is not

* This record is very curious, and worth inſerting.—Item conſiderantes, dicti providentes, quod ex diviſione populi, civitates eiſtruuntur, et annihilantur et magnam diviſionem præbet, ordo factus per alios reformatores, quo cavetur, quod officialis eligantur per quinque de populo parvo, quator de gente duodecim, et tres de gente novem, eoque ubi debet populus eſſe unitus. Sit tri-partitus, et ideo provideretur, quod dictum capitulum et ordinamentum, ſit caſſum, et ſit totus popolus Senenſis unicus, et unum corpus cenſeatur, et, ſiquando, in aliqua ſcriptura eſſet mentio facienda de populo parvo, dicatur de populo majoris numero, et ſi de gente du odecim eſſet facienda mentis, dicatur de populo mediocris numeri, et ſi de gente novem, dicatur de populo minoris numeri.

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yet perfect enough to alter, or to remedy, but by making the diſtinctions themſelves legal, and aſſigning, to each its ſhare, whatever it may be hereafter, the ſame diſcords remained among the popular men, and perſerved always the ſame diſtinctions in the public books. They ordained further, that of the officers of merchandiſe, or chamber of commerce, there ſhould be two of the people of the greater number, one of thoſe of the middle number, and the other of the leſſer number, while the nobles ſhould remain out of the city; but in caſe they ſhould return, inſtead of one of the two of the greater number, a nobleman ſhould be elected; and this rule they followed in aftertimes, electing one nobleman and three popular men; and by this order it became a declared point, that the nobles were not comprehended in the people, but were diſtinct from them. They further ordained (correcting the order given concerning the mode of electing the three popular members, who were to be joined to the twelve of the ballot, to be drawn every two months, to make the number of fifteen defenders) that by the council of reformers ſhould be put into the boxes a hundred for each third, and that in drawing for magiſtrates eight ſhould be drawn for each third, and made many other proviſions to conſolidate, as they ſaid, the popular ſtate, which were very diſpleaſing to the twelve, who could not endure that the nine ſhould be reſtored, and the greater part of the government ſhould be taken out of their hands. They could not ſit eaſy under this mortification, but with the favour of the Salimbeni they frequently ſtirred up freſh tumults, which Malateſta with his ſoldiers had trouble enough to ſuppreſs. The twelve, with the Selimbeni at their head, ſtill reſtleſs, applied to the emperor, and made him great

great offers to aſſiſt them in new modelling the government. The emperor would not agree without the conſent of the ſenate or general council, which was ſometimes upon great occaſions called together. Being aſſembled at this time to the number of 869, they refuſed their conſent; but by a vote of 721 confirmed the preſent form, impoſing grievous penalties upon all ſuch as ſhould ſpeak or act any thing againſt it, or attempt any alteration in it. The twelve, perceiving by this that they could not ſucceed in this way to obtain their unconquerable deſire of maſtering the government, deliberated upon the means of ſecuring by arms, what by intrigue and fraud they had not been able to acquire: they flattered themſelves, that by the intereſt of the family of Salimbeni they could procure the aid of Cæſar's arms. While in Siena, though the diſcords excited by the twelve, the public remained in this fluctuating ſtate, the nobles in exile made frequent inroads into its territory with their cavalry, plundering and burning at their pleaſure, and holding the city in a manner beſieged. The emperor taking advantage of this, laboured with both parties to lay aſide their animoſities. A truce was agreed on, and arbitrators or mediators to ſettle the pretenſions of all parties. The mediators aſſembled in a church, but the twelve and the Salimbeni ſtudied to prevent their determination. The people and the nine were willing the nobles ſhould return. The twelve and the Salimbeni perſuaded the emperor to negotiate with the people to ſend a legate; becauſe, ſeeing the people and the nine concur in the return of the nobility, it appeared to them they ſhould be too inferior in force and influence to their enemies without the aid of foreign arms.

Parties

Parties remaining in ſuſpenſe and ſuſpicion of one another, neither dared to lay down their arms. At laſt it appeared to the twelve, that, by favour of the imperialiſts and the pope's legate, they had acquired enough to be ſuperior, and, not willing to looſe the opportunity, they made Niccolo Salimbeni their head and with many foreign troops they began the uproar, and, with a great ſhow and noiſe of arms, crying, *Away with the traitors of the nine, who wiſh to reſtore the nobles!* they ran through the third of the city, and having met Scotto di Minuccio, who was captain of his company, they killed him, becauſe he had given his opinion for confirming the boxes of ballots and the government, and proceeded to the houſes of ſeveral families of the nine to aſſaſſinate them. Not finding them, becauſe they had fled for ſafety, the twelve, with their mob, ran through the whole third, plundered the houſes of the nine, and then marched to the palace, and, with the connivance of Malateſta, who appeared in the piazza with his armed men, they drove out the three of the nine, who were of the fifteen lords defenders, and aſpiring at a complete victory, they made the emperor move from the houſe of Salimbeni, where he was lodged, by giving him hopes, that by going in perſon to the palace he would have the city at his devotion. On the other hand, the other twelve magiſtrates ſeeing dragged out of the palace three of their colleagues, tormented with indignation at the indignity of the inſult, and at the danger they were in of loſing the government, ſuddenly gave orders to the companies, and ſounding to arms, ſo great a multitude of people aſſembled in arms in the piazza, and in ſuch a rage, that the captain of the people, taking courage with his colleagues

leagues to turn upon the twelve, the Salimbeni and podeſta drove them out af the palace. The battles which enſued in the city were obſtinate and blody ; ſplendid feats of valour were diſplayed on all ſides, but they are unneceſſary to be related. The government was finally triumphant, at leaſt their military commander had all the power of a dictator. Negotiations were ſoon oponed between the principal men and the emperor, and it was concluded that the ſame government ſhould ſtand, under the emperor as its ſovereign lord, and the city ſhould be conſidered as vicarage of the holy empire. But of what avail are treaties or decrees, or agreements, when the government remains in one aſſembly? The emperor was ſcarcely gone out of the city before freſh plots and treaſons of the twelve and the Salimbeni were diſcovered, and new tumults againſt the nine. The lords defenders, together with the council of reformers, to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders were obliged to create a new office, which they called the Executor, and gave him great authotity in criminal matters, even to proceed diſcretionally, and with out obſerving the orders of the ſtatutes. But with all this there was no ſecurity in town or country, and juſtice was ſo corrupted, that an infinite number of aſſaſſinations and robberies were committed with impunity. Certain travellers at laſt were robbed and murdered in the neighbourhood of the caſtle of Monteriggioni, and ſeveral men from the caſtle ran out with their arms, took four of the men who had committed the robbery, and, without ſending them to the city, or waiting for any trial, hanged them on the ſpot : and as this example was followed by the people in the country, the roads began to be more ſecure, but in the city the inſurrections ſtill continued. The executor having obliged

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to return into the city all the popular men who had not been baniſhed nor declared rebels, it happened that one Niccolo di Guelfo, of the order of the nine, in ſome quarrel killed Niccolo di Leggacci, and wounded two others of the order of the twelve, who, happening to be preſent, attempted to defend him. At the rumour of this a great diſturbance aroſe, and numbers of people collected, and fell into ſkirmiſhes, in which many were killed. To quiet this commotion the lords defenders placed guards of ſoldiers in the palace, in the piazza, at the gates, and many other places, confined eight of the principals of the order of the nine, and ſixteen of the order of the twelve; and the delinquents having fled, the tumult ſubſided. Propoſitions of an accommodation between the nobles and populars had been made by the mediation of the marquis of Monferrato; but as little progreſs was made in it, and the nobles were impatient, they took the caſtle of Batignano, and approached to Montepulciano, with the exiles from that territory (for every village had its diſputes between the great and the little, and its revolutions, triumphs, and baniſhments) who had intelligence with the popular party within, by whoſe aid they entered, and made priſoner of Jacomo de Cavalieri, who had made himſelf lord of the place, and intending to ſave his life, they threw him into priſon: but the plebeians were not ſatisfied with depoſing him and plundering his property, but, to ſatiate their revenge for the injuries they thought they had received from him, went the next day to the priſon, and watching their opportunity, aſſaſſinated him, and every one cut off a bit, as if they were deſirous of carrying his fleſh to market. The nobles were ſo

enraged at this againſt the people, that they fell upon them, killed many, and drove others off the territory. When they had done this, they ſet up another government, and that a popular one (which is remarkable enough), and departed. The marquis of Monferrato, who had undertaken the mediation at the requeſt of both parties, but ſaw that all his pains to reſtore harmony between the nobles and populars would have no effect, departed from Siena, and went to Florence, whence he communicated his award to Malavolti, who repreſented the nobles, and Guerieri, who was ambaſſador for the popular men who governed the city. The decree, however, as he had foreſeen, was accepted by neither party. One article was, that the Salimbeni ſhould releaſe to the republic the caſtles which had been given them; and that they ſhould no longer hold the ſtandard with the arms of the people, nor the infantry, which the magiſtrates had given them for the guard of their perſons. Upon the rumour of this, a part of the people, who followed the faction of the twelve, made a tumult, declaring that they would not degrade the honour nor leſſen the grandeur of the Salimbeni, and ſeveral perſons of conſequence were killed in this riot. At this time the caſtle and land of Pian Caſtagniano was taken by the count de Nola, captain of ſome men of the church; and it was ſaid that the Salimbeni, contrary to their compact with the commons of Siena, when it was given to them, had ſold it. This report produced tokens of great diſſatisfaction among the citizens in general, and eſpecially when the ſame count, within a few days, reduced the lands of S. Salvadore to his obedience, and held it as if he had been its ſovereign. Moved at this loſs, the

the fifteen lords defenders ſent an ample force and recovered it. It now appeared to the Salimbeni that the popular men, by the loſs of Piancaſtagnaio, were diſguſted with them, and had not the ſame confidence and affection for them, as they uſually had before this accident happened: wherefore, conſidering what might occur, being enemies of the other nobles, and not very acceptable to the popular men, they ſolicited the Florentine ambaſſadors, who were in Siena, to treat of peace between the nobles and thoſe who governed the ſtate, and of a reconciliation between them and the other nobles; and in a ſhort time both points were accompliſhed, with little ſatisfaction, however, to thoſe who governed the ſtate, though in appearance they pretended the contrary. While the Florentines were treating of a peace between the nobles and commons of Siena, Odoardo di Mariſcotti thinking the proceedings too ſlow, and deſirous to haſten them, began from a caſtle of his to infeſt the roads with his highwaymen, robbing and aſſaſſinating the merchants and others who travelled that way, which incited the magiſtrates to ſend out an army, and take and demoliſh his caſtle, deſtroying many of his people, and bringing him priſoner to Siena. The ſame army the day after marched to Campriano, where they ſubdued another band of the nobles, employed in intercepting proviſions in their way to Siena. Campriano they took by aſſault, and deſtroyed the fortreſs, after having ſlain in the action three of the houſe of Tolomei, three of the Piccolomini, two of the Scotti, and one of the Mariſcotti, with many others. The caſtle of Cotone was obliged to capitulate; Caſtiglione fought nine hours inceſſantly, and in the battle loſt ſome of the Tolomei, and ſome of the Malavolti,

lavolti, and many others of the nobles, but the place was taken, plundered, and burnt: after which the army returned to Siena with a great number of priſoners. There did not remain many of the nobles united together, capable of doing much damage to the dominions of the republic. On the other hand, the popular men, the more to conſolidate their power, having ſeen the unanimity of the nobles, by order of the laſt reformers, erected a company, whom they called the Grand Families of the People, which ſhould endure to perpetuity among thoſe popular men who ſhould be elected by the reformers for the conſervation of the popular ſtate of the city, and of the company itſelf, into which no nobleman could be received. Every member was to take an oath to obſerve the rules ordained for the maintenance of both the ſtate and the ſociety; and many exemptions and immunities were granted them. Every one whoſe name was ſubſcribed to the aſſociation, was to hold the arms of the people painted in ſome conſpicuous place of his houſe; from which inſtitution are ſeen at this day, over the doors of many houſes, the white lion. They had alſo the privilege of bearing the white lion in their own proper arms, and many perſons availed themſelves of it, as is ſeen in the arms of many families ſtill remaining: all who were not of the aſſociation of the people were forbid to bear it in any manner. Theſe and other regulations being made, deſirous of preventing the incurſions, and repairing the damages done by the nobles in the country, they collected a numerous force, and went with it to their caſtles, and ſeized ſometimes upon one and ſometimes on another, not meeting any power that could reſiſt them, till the republic of Florence, to whom, on the

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13th of May, 1369, had been referred the difference between the people and the nobles, made their report, to the great ſatisfaction of both parties. The award was dated the laſt of June 1369, and among the other articles of the peace, the nobles were to be reſtored to their country, and be made capable of all the magiſtracies of the commonwealth, except thoſe of lords defenders, gonfaloniers, and counſellors; and this was ratified by the popular men in a general council. The nobles in ten days ratified it on their part, to the wonderful ſatisfaction of the city and the ſtate, as they hoped to put an end to ſo many miſeries. The reformers afterwards, for the maintenance of the peace, as they ſaid, ordained grievous penalties for any one of the nobles who ſhould offend any of the people, and it was made capital for any one to ſtrike or draw blood from any one of the council of reformers; and to ſhow that affairs which intereſt many, ought to be conſidered and made known to many, wiſhing to increaſe the number of that council, which was not at that time more than 150, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1369, they added thoſe of the little people, who had been of the firſt reformers after the expulſion of the nobles, and thoſe of the ſame people who had been of the lords defenders ſince January 1368, or ſhould be in future maſter gonfaloniers; and wiſhing to reform the council of the people, it was ordained by the general council, that all the people, of whatever number, who ſhall have been of the lords defenders, or of the twelve governors, after the 23d September, 1368, ſhould be underſtood to be of the council of the people; and from this the practice began, which continued as long as the republic, that thoſe who had been

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of the ſignori were of this council. It was likewiſe ordained, that when any thing ſhould obtain in the council of the people, which ought to be propoſed to the general council, and the bells were ordered to ring for a general council, ſitting the council of the people, the members of the council of the people ſhould be members of the general council; and by this order the general council was converted into the council of the people, and was congregated no more during the commonwealth. The public was very much in debt, and had not the means of ſatisfying its creditors; it was therefore ordained, that all thoſe who had lent money to the commons, and ought to be reimburſed, ſhould be arranged in three different books, according to the diſtinction of the thirds of the city, and made creditors, each one, in the ſum total of his credit, with orders that the chamberlain ſhould pay at the rate of ten per cent. every year to each creditor; and this union or conſolidation of the public debt was called il monte, the mountain, or the lump; and this practice was afterwards repeated upon various occaſions; and theſe were the proviſions, which were punctually paid off by the chamberlain in the time of the republic, but were imitated afterwards by the arbitrary government of one, which ſucceeded it, merely to abate the debt of every one, who had lent money in the ordinary loans. We ſee by this, that in thoſe days republicans had ſome regard to honeſty and the public faith, and the infamy of defrauding creditors was left to the abſolute monarchy.

The number of the reformers being increaſed, their authority increaſed every day, and with it the deſire of reducing the office of lords defenders wholly to the little people, called the people of the

the greater number. To this end, having in 1370 excited certain tumults among the journeymen and labourers in the woollen manufacture, who were the very loweſt of the people, who inhabited along the coaſt of Ovile, and theſe meeting frequently together, called themſelves the Company del Bruco, becauſe ſuch was the enſign of that country; many of theſe, having taken the occaſion of ſome quarrels with their maſters in the woollen trade, and guided by one Dominico, a retailer of old cloth, raiſed a great uproar, beating ſome and threatening others; and being armed in great numbers, as it was a year of ſcarcity, they turned to the houſes which had the reputation of having ſome grain, where, through fear, it was given out to them. This quieted them for the preſent moment, till three of their leaders were taken up by the authority of the ſenator, and, upon examination, confeſſed crimes enough to condemn them to death. Upon this aroſe again in arms all thoſe of the company del Bruco, and with hideous noiſes running to the palace of the ſenator, and with menaces of burning his houſe, inſolently demanded the three priſoners, and with great fury began to fight with the officers of juſtice, and to collect materials for applying fire to the gate. The captain of the people, who was Franceſco Naddo, perceiving the danger in which the ſenator was, and that the city was all in arms, took the reſolution, in order to prevent by the public authority the diſorder from increaſing, to go in perſon, and endeavour to ſuppreſs it. With his ſtandard and trumpets before him he arrived at the palace of the ſenator; but finding it impoſſible to allay the fury of the plebeians otherwiſe, he made the ſenator ſet at liberty the three priſoners, and returned to his palace, believing that

that the company would lay down their arms as they had promiſed; but having come off conquerors in this warfare, and committed a robbery on juſtice herſelf, they acquired ſo much preſumption, that, running with great violence to the gate of the palace of the ſignori, and finding it locked, they raiſed a loud clamour, that the four lords of the order of the twelve, and the three of the order of the nine, ſhould be baniſhed, and they attempted in ſeveral ways to accompliſh it by force; but finding them well defended, they ran to the palace of the Salimbeni, to avail themſelves of their aſſiſtance and authority. Having in the way rencountered Nannuccio di Franceſco, who had been a few months before captain of the people, becauſe he had upon that occaſion favoured the order of the twelve, they aſſaſſinated him. The Salembeni would not move nor intermeddle in this ſedition: they therefore took from them the colours with the enſign of the people, which, as aſſociates of that faction, they ſtill held at their window, although they had made a peace with the other nobles. From the gonfaloniers of Camullia and San Martino they took likewiſe their ſtandards, and having given them to others, they returned to make a freſh attack upon the palace; and being repulſed from thence, they ſent a party towards Camullia to attack the houſe of the Salimbeni, againſt whom they were bitterly enraged, becauſe they would not concur in this revolution. Meeting a company of noblemen of the houſes of Salimbeni, Malavolti, Tolomei, Renaldini, and others, in conſiderable numbers, who had made a great exertion, and taken arms to quell this tumult of the plebeians, the parties went to action immediately, and the noblemen were many of them

killed,

killed, and the reſt routed: and although many men were elected to endeavour to quiet the diſturbance, they not only found no means of ſuppreſſing, but they found it impoſſible to prevent it from increaſing every moment in violence; until one morning, in the month of July, the company of the people aroſe in arms, with the company del Bruco, and dragged from the palace the four lords who reſided there, of the order of the twelve, and three of the order of the nine, inſtead of whom were elected by the people of the larger number ſeven others, to reſide with the eight who remained in the palace, and fill up the number of fifteen ſignori. But ſuſpecting that by their having thus reduced into their own hands the whole government of the city, the other citizens would be provoked to make an alteration, the council of reformers, to whom full power had been given by the general council, reſolved that the names of thoſe of the twelve and the nine, who had been pulled out of the palace, ſhould be returned into the box of the freemen, ſo that they might be drawn another time to reſide in the ſame office, and enjoy the ſame privileges, as if they had remained in the palace two months entire. The order of the twelve, however, not being ſatisfied with this regulation, conſpired with ſome of the nine, aided by the captain of the people, who, although he was himſelf of the popular order of the greater number, was of an elevated ſpirit and could not bear, that with ſuch indignity the ſtate ſhould be reduced, in his time, into the hands of men of ſuch baſe condition, entered into the conſpiracy, ſent them the maſter gonfaloniers, with their arms, who united with the conſpirators, and unexpectedly attacked thoſe of the company del Bruco, in their own houſes, on the coaſt of Ovile,

and, before they had time to get their arms and make a ſtand, aſſaſſinated a great part of them, and became exaſperated into ſuch a rage and fury, that they had no conſideration of age or ſex, but murdered without diſtinction all who came in their way. At the ſame time the company of the people having riſen, combatted in the piazza, and in ſeveral places of the city, with great ferocity, and the twelve, with their conſpirators, remained in many places ſuperior; but a ſtone caſt from the tower of the palace, fell upon the gonfalonier of San Martino, who with his company, returned from the coaſt of Ovile, combatted in the piazza, and ſtruck him to the ground, and every one, who ſaw him, believed him to be dead. By this accident his party was ſeized with a panic and fled, and gave an opportunity to the popular party to gane the ſuperiority, and break and rout the conſpirators. A part of the principal leaders of the conſpiracy were taken priſoners, together with Francino, captain of the people, and Magio Calzolaio, gonfalonier of the third of the city; and on the firſt of Auguſt, 1371, without letting them finiſh the term of their magiſtracy, a moſt miſerable and horrible example was ſet, by cutting off their heads publicly in the piazza: at the ſame time, they beheaded many others; but the two other gonfaloniers, having ſaved themſelves by flight, were declared rebels, with many others, and a new reformation of the ſtate was reſolved on. The reformers made a new box of magiſtrates for five years, continuing the office of the fifteen defenders, of whom twelve were popular men of the greater number, who were afterwards called reformers, and three popular men of the ſmaller number, who were thoſe of the order of the nine, and in place of Francino was ſubſtituted, as captain

tain of the people, Landino Fabro: and confirming the uſual order, they reſolved, that with the lords defenders ſhould intervene the preſident of the council of reformers, who was changed every third day, with his counſellors, although in the magiſtracy they had joined four of the little people, in place of thoſe whom they took away of the twelve, to give a more deciſive ſuperiority to their faction. They admoniſhed and diſqualified all thoſe of the people of the middle number who had been of the twelve, and twelve families of the people of the leſſer number, who had been of the nine, and ſome of the people of the greater number, who had been numbered among the reformers, who had agreed with the twelve. Two hundred and twenty-eight were condemned in pecuniary penalties; and all thoſe who were condemned were called, without diſtinction, Fini. A number of men, both horſe and foot, ſent by the Salimbeni for the ſervice of the twelve, arrived at Torrenieri, but learning the turn of affairs, returned back. To the number of the reformers afterwards joined themſelves almoſt all the leſſer artificers; and for the ſecurity of the ſtate they had from Florence a hundred cavalry. The public, by great expenſes and little government, being without any appropriation of money, that they could avail themſelves of, the reformers introduced the practice of ſelling the public revenue, beſides the confiſcations and penalties, for three years, which did not obtain more than three hundred and eighteen thouſand golden florins. This commencement of the uſage of ſelling the public revenues, which was continued from this time, was the reaſon why the public was always in debt; ſelling for a ſmall price, which was not ſufficient for the neceſſary expenſes, illegal practices were the

the conſequence, and from thence new ſeditions, which finally accompliſhed the ruin of the republic. The twelve did not ceaſe to move many things to the prejudice of the reformers, becauſe the capacity of being in the magiſtracy was now taken from them. For ſecurity their arms were taken from them, and placed in the chamber of the commons, and the captain of the people ſeized many of them on ſuſpicion, and they were in great danger of loſing their heads.

The year following the conduct of the twelve occaſioned the ſame ſuſpicions. The nobles themſelves were never more impatient of excluſion, nor more eager to try every expedient to recover their ſhare in the ſtate. The nobles, indeed, were not only injured, but had a right to complain. The twelve were injured, but they had only that wong done to them which they had ſet againſt the nobles, and they ought to have recollected

Nec lex eſt juſtior ulla
Quam necis artifices arto perire ſuâ

But if the rule of doing as you would be done by were the rule of life, and obſerved by all men, there would perhaps be no need of government at all. The twelve, to be ſure, did not think their own caſe and that of the nobles parallel, but were indefatigable in inſinuating, ſometimes into one, and ſometimes into another of the little people, that it was neither profitable to them, nor honourable to the public, to ſuffer thoſe reformers to *tyranniſe* over the city; and they frequently ſucceeded in drawing over to their ſide partiſans, with whom they proceeded to conſult of the means of carrying their intentions, to take the government out of the hands of the reformers into effect. They opened themſelves to ſo many, that at length

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the machination was diſcovered, and numbers taken up; among whom was Ser Cecco d'Andrea, the man of the higheſt reputation with the twelve, who was beheaded; and of the others, ſome were impriſoned, others fined, and thoſe who had eſcaped by flight were baniſhed: and Ser Agnola d'Andrea was condemned, becauſe, having made a dinner for ſome of his friends at his country houſe, no reformer was invited. Other inſtances of the groſſeſt proſtitution of the judicial power were attempted by the vulgar tyrants, who now had the ſway. Giovanni Calzettaio, who was one of the council of reformers, proſecuted one of the twelve for ſtriking him. Niccolo Roſſo da Tarano, the podeſta, upon examination of the parties face to face, found evidence of the malicious fraud of the reformer, who, to give a colour to his falſe accuſation, that the other had broke the law, by which it was made capital to ſtrike or draw blood of a reformer, had ſtruck and drawn blood from himſelf; and had the integrity to impriſon the complainant, who was found to be ſo abandoned a fellow, and had ſo many charges brought againſt him of atrocious crimes, that the podeſta adjudged him to have his head cut off under the gallows, ſince it was not lawful to him, being one of the reformers. Juſtice, it ſeems, though attempted, was not yet ſo proſtituted but that many others were chaſtiſed for enormous crimes; but the moſt of the criminals being of the people of the greater number, who were the dominant faction, and held the great part in the government, tumults were generated in no ſmall numbers among the multitude. But when Antonio di Orſo and Deo Malavolti were impriſoned for having carried off a young woman with her own conſent, and to ſatisfy the plebeians who were in arms, beheaded, and half a dozen other noblemen

noblemen for other crimes executed, the plebeians were pacified and ſoftened by the blood of ſo many nobles, and that inſurrection, which had been raiſed to ſave the lives of the condemned plebeians, was quelled. When all were returned to their habitations, and their arms laid aſide, the ſenator, Louis della Marca, ordered to be ſeized four of thoſe who were the heads of the late ſedition to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, and ſentenced them to be hanged; others he impriſoned, and ſome were fined. The ſenator, among ſo many controverſies, rumours, and tumults, as occurred during his adminiſtration, although ex debito juſtitiæ he had been obliged to order ſo many executions, run a great riſk of being aſſaſſinated in thoſe popular ſeditions of multitudes, who were offended by him, and both himſelf and his family were under no ſmall apprehenſions. In ſuch a ſtate of Society the human heart pours forth all its turpitude, and all parties appear to be equally abandoned. The ſignior of Perolla, a caſtle of Maremma of Siena, died, and left an only daughter heir to the eſtate and the lordſhip. Andrea Salimbeni, who was a relation, went to viſit the young lady, by ſome fraudulent ſtratagem, which is not explained, put her to death, and made himſelf patron or tyrant of the place, and, with a gang of people under his command, committing robberies on the highways, and all the neighbouring places, rendered it unſafe to paſs in that quarter. The fame of this was ſoon carried to the Sieneſe, who ſent out a body of men under the command of the ſenator, and the 23d of April, 1374, took the place, and carried Salimbeni, with twenty-eight others, priſoners to the city. Sixteen of theſe in a few days were beheaded by order of the ſenator; but either from

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reſpect to the family, or from fear of their power, he did not proceed againſt Salimbeni. Upon this the company del Bruco again aroſe in arms, with the other plebeians, and running to the palace, with threats demanded of the lords defenders that juſtice ſhould be done upon Andrea Salimbeni. The captain of the people, the two priores, and their colleagues of the lords defenders, found themſelves ſo mean in ſpirit, ſo infertile in council, ſo unſkilful at their own game, that not knowing any better way to prevent the evil from increaſing, they gave authority to Noccio Sellaio to do in that emergency, whatever he ſhould judge uſeful to the commonwealth. Noccio ſeizing ardently this opportunity, by which he thought to gain the hearts of the plebeians, and by their favour raiſe himſelf to power and ſuperiority above his fellow-citizens, entered into the palace of the ſenator, and ſitting down in the midſt of an immenſe crowd, on the bench from whence ſentence was uſually given, condemned Andrea Salimbeni to death, and ordered his head to be ſtruck off before the public. Intending to diſpatch Pietro Moſſa in the ſame manner, he was prohibited by the major part of the reformers, who began to perceive his deſign, and to ſee the error which the lords defenders had committed in giving him ſuch an authority: and although he had at his heels the company del Bruco, and the other loweſt plebeians, they revoked the power that had been given him. This meaſure excited a great tumult in the city; but the reformers, being united, were able to quiet it. Niccolo and Cione Salimbeni, with others of the ſame family, and their aſſociates, moved with indignation and grief at the outrage which had been committed upon Andrea, took from the commons of Siena the caſtles of Montemaſſi and Boccheggiano, and with large companies went about committing

committing depredations in many places in the country. The reformers, to make preparations for recovering their lands, and for making head againſt the Salimbeni and their followers, created a new magiſtracy of ten citizens, to ſuperintend the conduct of the war. The firſt proviſion made by this new council of war was, to impriſon twenty-ſix citizens of the order of the twelve, and condemn them in twelve thouſand golden florins, which were immediately paid. Was the robbery of Salimbeni worſe than this? They next ſent to demand aid of Florence and Lucca, and obtained it; but ambaſſadors were ſent from Florence, Perugia, and other places, at the ſame time, to make peace if poſſible, knowing that their own diſcontented and diſtracted factions were ready to break out: but the Salimbeni would not liſten to any thing, becauſe the ten had ſent an army in force to the caſtle of Boccheggiano, with orders and inſtruments for deſtroying the walls, croſsbows, and precipices, and other things which in thoſe days were uſed in war to fortify the lands. On the other hand the Salimbeni, having collected together many of their friends and adherents, watched a convenient opportunity, ſallied out from their lands, and attacking their enemies without the leaſt expectation, broke their order, put them to flight, took many priſoners, plundered their camp, and burnt all the frames, baſtions, buildings, and inſtruments they found there. As ſoon as this defeat was well known in Siena, the relations of thoſe many citizens, who remained priſoners, ran in arms to the houſes of the Salimbeni, and ſeized all they could find of thoſe families, that they might hold them as hoſtages to redeem their own relations. Neither the plague nor famine, both of which raged this year, 1374, could prevent

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continual plots of the Salembeni and the twelve to recover the government of the city, and conſtant ſkirmiſhes and wars between them and the reformers and lords defenders throughout all the territories of the republic. In the year following ambaſſadors were ſent from ſeveral friendly cities, to perſuade peace between the reformers and the Salimbeni. The reformers, deſirous of leſſening the number of their enemies, in 1379 reſtored all the rebels who had been denominated Fini, and baniſhed in the time of thoſe ſeditions, which were made by the gonfaloniers and the twelve; and of theſe they made uſeful guards for the palace, &c. The nobles, however, were employed in forming parties in the country, and in negotiations with their friends in the neighbouring cities, till, in 1384, they were able to meet the reformers in the field, and give them a complete overthrow; and if they had purſued their victory, ſuch was the aſtoniſhment and panic of the reformers in the city, they might have made themſelves maſters: but in this their fortune befriended them. Finding they were not purſued by their enemies, they aſſumed ſome vigour and courage, and gave orders to guard the gates, and ſuppreſs the ſeditions which were moved in the city againſt them, and ſent abroad for foreign aid. Florence, Piſa, Bologna, and Perugia, hearing of ſo great a change, and fearing greater civil diſcords, ſent ambaſſadors to Siena, to endeavour to re-unite the nobles in exile, and the popular men who governed the city; but, after trying every mode of negotiation, and every propoſition of accommodation, with both parties, they found they could make no impreſſion upon either, and returned home. It was the opinion of the reformers, that the Florentine ambaſſadors, from ſome intereſt of their republic, in their ſecret nego-

tiations with one party and the other, had been the cauſe that the peace had not been effected, as, both ſides appearing to be weary of the war, was generally hoped and expected. The time was come when the magiſtrates, the lords defenders for the months of March and April, were to be drawn; and the council being aſſembled, and the ballots drawn, Giovanni Minucci, one of the lords defenders, was captain of the people. When the council diſſolved, they perceived no ſmall tumult made by the citizens of the order of the twelve, who ſaid, they did not know for what reaſon the power of participating in the honours and cares of government was taken from them, rather than from other popular men, and that they no longer would tolerate the abuſe; and although the diſturbance appeared to ſubſide for the preſent, the twelve, fomented by the gentlemen, who were very active, and had made themſelves maſters of a great part of the dominion, and who promiſed the twelve, in all events, to aſſiſt them with men, arms, and proviſions, to the utmoſt of their power, for the common ſervice againſt the reformers, did not ceaſe to demand, with great animoſity and many threats, that a place ſhould be given them in the magiſtracy. Theſe motions of the twelve, favoured by the nobles, gave much moleſtation to the heads of the government; and therefore, that they might not have to defend themſelves againſt too many enemies, on the 23d of March, 1384, they congregated in the morning the council, and obtained that the twelve, in the new draught, ſhould have place for the ſixth part in that magiſtracy, by increaſing the number from fifteen to eighteen; but, as experience has ever proved, gratitude ſhewn, and remedies applied, out of ſeaſon, have little effect. When council was finiſhed, at noon day Ceſtelli, a ſeditious man of the order of the

the twelve, was taken up by the miniſters of juſtice; and ſtanding in his defence, and calling with a loud voice for aſſiſtance, multitudes of the twelve and the nine haſtened at his cry, to his relief, and took the priſoner by fore from the officer, who had already drawn him from the hill to the piazza. Upon this riot, Materazza and Nerini, accompanied by a great number of reformers, intervened, partly by their authority, and partly by their arms, to recover the priſoner. They fell with great impetuoſity upon thoſe who had reſcued him, and denouncing vengeance and death on the twelve and the nine, as obſtructors of juſtice, cried "Long live the Reformers!" At this cry the whole city roſe at once in arms, and with thoſe of the twelve and the nine, went to the few noblemen who remained in Siena; and having taken the entrance of the piazza, prevented the plebeians from paſſing in to the aid of the reformers, and from the houſes of the Scotti and Saracini, annoyed the multitude of reformers, who in the piazza combatted againſt their friends. The conteſt had become general in various parts of the city, and it appearing to the nobles, the twelve, and the nine (as the major part of the plebeians ran to the ſervice of the reformers) that they had the diſadvantage, at the inſtigation of a Jew they began to cry, "Peace! Peace!" At the hearing of this word, induſtriouſly reſounded in various parts of the city, a great number of the little people, as diſtinguiſhed from the plebeians or the rabble, wearied out with ſo many ſeditions, and united with the nobles and their adherents, ran with great fury to the priſons, and ſet at liberty all the priſoners, among whom were M. Uguccione and Niccoluccio Malavolti: theſe, taking the lead of the whole multitude, attacked the whole army

army of reformers, and urged on by the keen deſire of vengeance for the injuries received, combatted with ſuch intrepidity as to drive them out of the piazza, after having made a great carnage, and many priſoners. They inſtantly entered the palace, and although the people within made a gallant defence, took poſſeſſion of it, and drove out the lords defenders and reformers, not only from the palace but the piazza, and took from them the adminiſtration of the republic, both in the city and the country. This revolution was followed by the uſual train: in a few days were ſent into exile more than four thouſand men of the faction of reformers, chiefly artificers; and, what is worſe, when in the courſe of a few years their affairs were accommodated, not the tenth part of them returned to their country. Thus ended the government of the faction of reformers, and this new ſpecies of ſovereignty in one aſſembly; but only to be exchanged for another, conſiſting of nobles, twelves, and nines. The exiles of all theſe three parties now returned in great numbers from all the neighbouring cities, provinces, and countries, and brought with them a ſtrong body both of cavalry and infantry. We may now expect to ſee the government ſhining with the ſpendid names of Salimbeni, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Tolomei, and all the reſt; but we have no reaſon to expect juſtice, liberty, order, peace, or common decency. The new government was inſtituted in a new magiſtracy of ten citizens, to be changed every two months, and intitled the Lords Priors Governors of the City of Siena, into which number were to be admitted four popular men of thoſe who had been of the twelve, four of thoſe who had been of the nine, and two of the people of the greater number of thoſe,

thoſe, however, who had not been of the council of reformers, nor of the lords defenders; and thus the people were divided into four factions, the Nine, the Twelve, the Reformers, and the People, and of theſe diſcordant materials, in one aſſembly, were the legiſlative, executive, and judicial powers to be compoſed; and this mode continued till 1387.

The order paſſed in a general council, eſtabliſhing the new regimen, in 1385, and the ſcrutiny for magiſtrates was made for eight years, and the names put into the boxes, a practice which was analogous to that in Florence which they called imborſation, which was putting the names into purſes, to be drawn out upon occaſion. Thoſe who had now the moſt votes in the general council were aſſorted together in forty-eight ballots, one of which was to be drawn every two months. The firſt draught was now made, and the lot produced a ballot, in which were the names of Andria Cicerchia, and nine others: theſe took upon them the magiſtracy of lords priors governors. The 28th of March, 1385, the tumults were quieted, the ſoldiers diſbanded, the fortreſſes of the dominion rendered to public commiſſaries, many remunerated for their ſervices, fireworks played off, and many feaſts made, and incredible manifeſtations of joy, and ambaſſadors ſent to all confederated cities to inform them that the city was delivered from the tyranny of the rabble, and the palace cleanſed, which had been once thought an Augean ſtable. Twelve of the principals of the conquered faction were put to death by the courſe of juſtice, and thirty ſent out to the frontiers, and the major part of thoſe who had fled, declared rebels and enemies pro more revolutionum; and by order of the council of petitions, by authority given

given them by the general council, their caſtles were reſtored to the Salimbeni. But the envy of fortune, according to the hiſtorian, and the malice of their conſtitution, according to truth, would not ſuffer this felicity to be enjoyed for one year. The Tolomei were now returned, and living in the ſame city with the Salimbeni; and this fact alone, under ſuch a plan of government, would be enough to give the reader an anticipation of what would be the conſequences. Conſpiracies were formed in the country among the friends of the exiles, and by companies of depredators, who began to be troubleſome and to do miſchief in the dominion. The Florentines too began to ſet up claims upon parcels of territory; and while this diſpute was in negotiation between the ambaſſadors of the two people, a plot was diſcovered, to the great terror of thoſe who governed the city, commenced by a part of the family of Tolomei, who in concert with ſome popular men, who intended to reſtore the reformers, had drawn towards the city certain foreign troops, in an irregular manner, from different places, and entertained ſecretly in ſeveral of their fortreſſes. Theſe troops hearing that their deſtination was diſcovered, and impoſſible to be executed, as many citizens were already impriſoned on account of it, retreated, and the priſoners confeſſing the truth, were condemned to death. Yet the lords priors, with the reſt of their faction (for the government was never any more than a faction) were in trouble enough, knowing the danger they were in from the divided minds of their fellow-citizens, and from the hatred and immortal enmity which the Florentines appeared to bear them. This ſtorm was averted by ſubmitting the diſpute with Florence to the mediation of Bologna, and by the ceſſion of many lands. One conſpiracy

ſpiracy was ſcarcely ſuppreſſed, and a foreign war declined from fear of themſelves, before another was diſcovered of greater moment, and a more pernicious nature, than the firſt, excited by M. Spinello Tolomei, and a great number of reformers, and others, who had ſuch intelligence in Siena, that it ſeemed to them eaſy to effect a revolution, and make themſelves maſters of the ſtate. But as many examples, both ancient and modern, demonſtrate, conſpiracies made by a multitude, through the variety of intereſts of thoſe who are comprehended in it, have ſeldom attained their intended end; and the greater part of conſpirators have loſt their lives and their fortunes, becauſe the deſign has been revealed by ſuch as had rather be rewarded with ſecurity, than ſtand in danger of their lives, when a ſuſpicion has gone forth in the public; ſo conſpiracies of leſſer numbers have been equally unfortunate, through the want of power to carry them into execution. The reformers, excited by Spinello Tolomei were betrayed by one of their aſſociates, and one of their cheifs, Nanni di Data, was beheaded: but Tolomei was too powerful a man for ſuch a government to dare to make an example of; he was therefore admitted to a treaty with the magiſtrates. Soon afterwards the count Guido di Santa Fiora ſubmitted to the commonwealth, and after him Monaldo di Viſconti di Campiglia.—Another conſpiracy was diſcovered in Siena among the reformers, under the conduct of Spinello Tolomei. A ſpy, whom he ſent with a letter to his correſpondents in the city, was intercepted, threw himſelf out of a window in deſpair, and was killed in the fall, and a few of the conſpirators were beheaded. The city by theſe continued plots, ſo often diſcovered, was kept in conſtant terror, as

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was every village and caſtle of the whole dominion: for example, in the caſtle of Caſole was awakened a violent ſedition; the Caſolans were divided into two parties, and coming to arms among themſelves, ſkirmiſhes happened every day, and many were killed, and more wounded. The ſame miſchievous diviſions were ſuffered too in the city of Maſſa. Montepulciano likewiſe was governed by a ſingle aſſembly of ſignori, who by their diviſions occaſioned ſimilar ſeditions and civil wars among themſelves, and their different parties excited a long war between Florence and Siena; at the concluſion of which the Florentines, by their intrigues, laid the Sieneſe under many diſadvantages, which would have been greater, if at this time it had not been known that the Sieneſe were in intimate correſpondence with Giovan Galeazzo Viſconti, lord of Milan, who, after having taken the city of Verona, had, with a great increaſe of his power, taken the city of Padua, and made priſoner of Franceſco da Carrara, who was lord of it. On the 26th of November, 1387, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the people, who began again to ſhew ſigns of diſcontent, it was determined in Siena, that to the number of the ten lords priors there ſhould be added one of thoſe popular men, who had been reformers; and it was declared, that when mention ſhould be made of the perſons of thoſe, who were of the reformers, and who might be admitted to reſide in the office of the ſignori, and who called themſelves of the people of the larger number, the ſame ſhould be underſtood of their fathers, ſons, brothers, by the maſculine line, and thoſe who had been admoniſhed between 1371 and 1384 ſhould be comprehended in the number of the other popular men, who had not been of the reformers nor ſignori; and if any of the monte of the nine (for this

this was now the name of diſtinction) or of the monte of the twelve, had been of the ſaid reformers, they might be ſignori for the monte of the people of the greater number; but his perſon only ſhould be conſidered of the reformers, and not any of his anceſtors, deſcendants, or connections; but theſe ſhould all remain in the monte (heap, lump, or collection) of which they had been before. They ordained moreover, that of the chamberlains and notaries, who were eleven in number, four ſhould be of the nine, four of the twelve, and three of the other popular men. And whereas in the other magiſtracies there uſed to be in each two nobles, one of the twelve and one of the nine, there ſhould now be added one popular man, who had not been either of the nine or the twelve, and thus in each of thoſe magiſtracies there ſhould be two nobles and three populars; that is to ſay, as it is expreſſed in the record of the deliberation of the council, "one of the nine, one of the twelve, "and one of the other populars;" and of theſe other populars, one at one time was to be of thoſe who had been reformers, and of the ſignori, for the monte of the people of the greater number, and one other at another time of thoſe of the ſame monte, who were not of the reformers, nor the lords defendars: and by theſe proviſions, thoſe who held the government in their hands ſtudied to conciliate the friendſhip of the little people, and take away, in ſome degree, the occaſions of conſpiracies. And that they might not alienate from their government the minds of the nobles, they reſolved that all the podeſtaries, and ordinary captainſhips, ſuch as the captainſhip of Maremma, Montagna, Valdichiana, and others, ſhould be given to the nobles, and to no others; and when occurrences ſhould oblige them to ſend abroad

extraordinary captains, they might ſend part of them from the nobles, and part from the populars; and this order in favour of the nobles was made perpetual. Theſe and other regulations were not ſufficient to ſatisfy, nor the hoſtile deſigns of Florence, nor the victory obtained by Niccolo Piccolomini over the Brettoni, to divert the people of Siena from their diſcontents: ſo that on the 11th of May, 1388, another amendment of their conſtitution was attempted. The apprehenſions of foreign war as well as domeſtic broils increaſed, and to facilitate the public deliberations, that they might not upon every occaſion have to call a general council, they introduced a council of ſubſtitutes, with the ſame forms and the ſame authority, and called them the Simiglianti, which the council formerly had in the times of the twelve and the nine. This council comprehended all thoſe who had been of the lords priors governors, and thoſe who had their names in the boxes of the ſame magiſtrates, to whom they afterwards added, that they might not appear to be diffident of them, twelve noblemen, elected from the nobility in general; and to gratify and oblige thoſe of their citizens who were abroad, and prevent them from joining their enemies within and without, they gave a pardon to thoſe rebels, who had been confined for ſix months, and had obſerved their limits, and although their time was not expired, gave them leave to return to the city: thoſe who were confined for a year, might return in two months; and thoſe who were confined for more than a year in ſix months.

At this time, returned from Milan Batiſta Piccolomini, who had been ſent as ambaſſador there, and with him was ſent M. Giovanni della Porta, treaſurer of the lord Giovan Galeazzo, with orders

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to raiſe and take into pay as large a number of ſoldiers as poſſible; and to this end the treaſurer ſent his paymaſters, with the count Ugolotti Bianchiardi, who having been ſent with the ambaſſador by Giovan Galeazzo, for the ſervice of the city of Siena, went to Marca, and engaged in the pay of Viſconti, M. Brogliole and Brandolino, each with an hundred cavalry, and ordered that Boldrino da Panicale ſhould form another company.

The Florentines carried on their intrigues with ſo many factions in the ſtate, and diſcovered a diſpoſition ſo hoſtile, and deſigns, or at leaſt deſires, of making themſelves maſters not only of Montepulciano and the other dependencies, but of Siena itſelf, that the government thought it adviſable to haſten their deliberations upon a ſubject they had in contemplation for ſeveral months, a league and confederation with Giovan Galeazzo Viſconti, lord of Milan, and Conte di Virtu. This prince, ſince he poſſeſſed Verona and Padua, had intended taking poſſeſſion of Bologna, which had been ſometimes under the dominion of the houſe of Viſconti; and becauſe the Florentines, as confederates of the Bologneſe, had ſent them aſſiſtance, and favoured them as much as they could with their armed men, took upon him the protection of the city of Siena, and promiſed her ambaſſador to aſſiſt her, and ſent the ſignor Paùolo Savello, with three hundred lances, upon whoſe arrival uncommon rejoicings were ſhewn in the city. Galeazzo engaged in this warfare, not ſo much for the ſervice of Siena, as to have an opportunity of maintaining the war in conjunction with them, upon that ſide, againſt the Florentines, that they, having employment enough to defend their own houſes, might not be able to

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ſend ſuccour to Bologna; and by this means to endeavour to make himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in Tuſcany, from whence he might hope, by maintaining the diviſions and the moſt ardent hatred, which on account of Montepulciano, from the injuries the Florentines and Sieneſe committed againſt each other, went on every day increaſing, to make himſelf maſter of the province, and at length king of Italy, an ambition he had long entertained. To this end he entered into negotiation with the ambaſſadors of Siena, and on the 22d of September, 1389, the treaty was ſigned. The articles were, that the league ſhould continue ten years; that common cauſe ſhould be made in a war againſt Florence; that Galeazzo ſhould maintain during the war, which was to be declared in fifteen days, ſeven hundred lancemen, with three horſes to each lance, in his pay in Tuſcany, for the ſervice of the commons of Siena, and the Sieneſe were to have three hundred in their pay in the ſame manner, with two hundred croſs-bowmen; that if their enemies ſhould ſend forces from Tuſcany into Lombardy, it ſhould be lawful for the count to avail himſelf of theſe his forces, but that Siena ſhould not be obliged to ſend her forces out of Tuſcany; that the count ſhould not be obliged to make war or defend the Sieneſe againſt any other enemies than the Florentines; that any other community of Tuſcany might be admitted into this league; that all the cities, lands, fortreſſes, and places, which by the league might be acquired in this war, ſhould belong to the republic of Siena, if he had any previous pretenſions to the dominion of it, otherwiſe every one ſhould be left to its liberty, upon condition of holding the league and their allies for friends, and their oppoſers for enemies, and

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of giving hoſpitality paſſage and proviſions, paying for them to the people of the league. Galeazzo might make peace, truce, or armiſtice, with the people of Florence, including the commons and people of Siena, with all their lands, cities, and ſubjects; but the Sieneſe could not make either without his conſent; and the ratification was to be on both ſides exchanged in three months. A war enſued, which laſted till 1389, and was then concluded by a peace, and a confederation between many republics and princes; the Conte di Virtu, Florence, Bologna, Perugia, the marquis of Ferrara, Siena, the lord of Mantua, the lords de Malateſti, Lucca, the count de Monteſeltro, Piſa, &c. This confederation, however, was not well obſerved, and the inhabitants of Montepulciano particularly violated it, as was ſuppoſed at the inſtigation of Florence. This occaſioned not only a ratification of the former treaty, but the formation of a new one between the republic of Siena and the ſignor Giovan Galeazzo Viſconti, Conte di Virtu, lord and imperial vicar of Milan. The country or earldom of Virtu is a ſtate in France, in the province of Champaign, which was given by king John in dower to Iſabella his daughter, married to this prince Giovan Galeazzo Viſconti, which acquired him the title of Conte di Virtu; and of which marriage was born Madame Valentina, wife of Louis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles the Sixth king of France, who had in dower the ſame Conte di Virtu, and the city of Aſti in Piedmont: of Charles their firſt born, duke of Orleans, was the king Louis the Twelfth: of Giovanni their ſecond ſon, count of Angoleme, was born Charles of Angoleme, father of the king Francis the Firſt. Theſe ſucceſſors of Valentina pretended, after the death without iſſue

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of Giovan Maria and Filippo Maria their brothers, ſons of Giovan Galeazzo, that the ſtate of Milan belonged to them; and for this reaſon the king Louis the Twelfth, and the king Francis the Firſt, made afterwards that celebrated war in Lombardy, and ſeveral times over recovered and loſt the duchy of Milan.—To return from this digreſſion, on the 9th of November, 1389, the treaty was ratified and exchanged between Siena and the count; yet a freſh conſpiracy was diſcovered in the city, excited by Spinello Tolomei in baniſhment, and the reformers, in conjunction with foreigners, and Montepulciano again rebelled: but the arms of Siena, aided by the count and his captain Charles Malateſta, were triumphant at home and abroad, and this year was practiſed the firſt bombardment ever ſeen in Tuſcany. Upon ſome little reverſe of fortune, when the count loſt the fortreſs of Padua, and when, to the calamities of war, thoſe of peſtilence and famine were added, in 1390 the noble families of Salimbeni, Tolomei, and Malavolti, unable to bear one another, and ſome of them ſtill leſs willing to ſubmit to a ſuperior, reſumed their old employment of exciting ſeditions. Florence wanted peace, and the pope exhorted it. The families of Tolomei and Malavolti, jealous ſtill of the Salimbeni, and their ſuperior influence and favour with the count, began to ſtir up diſcontents. In their opinion it was neither profitable nor glorious, nor even honourable, for the republic to waſte itſelf on all ſides for the ſervice of the count Galeazzo, who in the greateſt exigency of the war had, by withdrawing his forces, left it a prey to the enemy. From this ſpecimen of his conduct the Sieneſe could only expect, if he had been or ſhould be victorious,

victorious, a ſervitude which they would find very bitter and irkſome. That every one, who was not blinded by an immeaſureable hatred, which the vulgar had conceived againſt the Florentines for the injuries they had done the republic, muſt already ſee the diſpoſiton of the count; and eſpecially ſince the arrival from Milan of the marquis Andreaſto Cavalcabo, of his privy council, to take upon him the office of ſenator of Siena, to which he had been elected. The marquis had demanded, with great ceremony, in the name of his maſter, and on his behalf, that, for the common uility, the dominion of the city of Siena ſhould be given to him. This embaſſy cauſed a wonderful change in the minds of all thoſe, who deſired, that their country ſhould remain independent and free; and the more, as they knew that the generality of the citizens, without liſtening to any arguments againſt it, and without any conſideration of futurity, or of the nature of princes, never content with a middle flight, and never long to be depended on, were not only inclined to it, but had prepared a petition to the general council, that an anſwer ſhould be given to the count's ambaſſador in theſe words: "We are content; and as a ſingular favour we ſupplicate his lordſhip, that, from his benignity, he will be pleaſed to take upon him, and accept the dominion and government of the city of Siena, its country and diſtrict, and of us his devoted children and ſervants, and rule and govern us as to his exellency ſhall ſeem convenient;" and deſcending to particulars, they added and affirned, "We are ready to give and confer upon him the city of Siena, its country and diſtrict, with its ſimple and mixed empire, and to transfer to him, liberally, the lordſhip and government of it, ſo that he may freely diſpoſe of it,

it, in all things, as of the city of Milan, or Padua, or any other the moſt ſubmiſſive to him." The contents of this petition, although at firſt prepared in ſecret, had reached the ears of thoſe, who endeavoured to promote peace with Florence and the public tranquility, wonderfully irritated their minds, and incited them to ſhow to their fellow-citizens the incredible damage to the city, which muſt ariſe from ſuch an unlimited ſubmiſſion; and to foretel, that in a little time, when they ſhould begin to experience the bitterneſs of ſervitude to ſuch as are born and bred to liberty, they would in vain repent of their levity, raſhneſs, and error. They recalled to the recollection of the citizens the great virtues of their fathers and other anceſtors, which had defended their country, preſerved their liberties, and tranſmitted both to them; and with how much generoſity, bravery, and magnanimity, they themſelves had defended it in arms againſt Charles the Fourth, when preſent in Siena in 1368 with a powerful army. That they were under the moſt tender obligation to tranſmit the ſacred truſt to their poſterity; and this they might eaſily do, to the ineſtimable benefit of the city, by a peace, which they had the power and opportunity to make. That when they ſhould be delivered from the calamities of foreign war, and the yoke of tyranny which hung over their necks, they ſhould be at leiſure to make proviſions of grain againſt the famine, and to find alleviations of their diſtreſſes from the plague. To theſe reaſonings of the Tolomei and Malavolti were oppoſed thoſe of the Salimbeni, who having been long favourites of the Ghibelline party, were mortal enemies of the others who were Guelphs. Moved by the intereſts of faction more than thoſe of the public ſervice, having procured the petition

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to be heard, and the decree paſſed and proclaimed by the council, to oppreſs the oppoſite party by arms, when they had not been able to anſwer their reaſons, they drew over to their ſide M. Giovan Tedeſco, head of the Ghibellines in Arezzo, with his cavalry, and marched through the city accompanied with a great multitude of people of their faction, and proclaimed the name of Giovan Galeazzo Viſconti, conte di Vertù and lord of Milan, protector, and chief of the Ghibelline faction in Lombardy, and aſſaſſinated in this ſedition twenty men of the followers of the adverſe party, and made many priſoners; among whom was Niccolo Malavolti, who, though he had often honourably acted for the ſervice of the republic, was, with many others, beheaded. The other members of the families of Tolomei and Malavolti, with many of their followers, left the city, and retired to their caſtles. The people of Siena, wearied out of patience by being the dupes and tools of two or three ambitious families, were eaſily led by one of them to rejoice in placing a maſter over all. They were now ſo inclined and diſpoſed to ſervitude to one, in preference to a few, that, blinded with anger, they could not ſee the evident ruin which muſt come with the deſtruction of public liberty; and neither themſelves nor their leaders knowing the true cauſe of their diviſions and misfortunes, nor any remedy by which union and liberty might be reconciled by law, they humbly ſolicited the ſubjugation of their country, and the privilege—of paſſive obedience.

On the fifteenth day of March, in the ſame year, the record was approved in the general council, and authority was given to the lords priors to appoint a ſyndic, and a deputy of the commons of

Siena, to execute all that was contained in the reſolution, and deliver the keys of the city to the commiſſaries of the count Galeazzo, with its abſolute dominion, without pact or convention of any kind. The example is here complete: and although the tyranny of the Viſconti was afterwards overturned, various forms of a republic attemped, exiles ſent out and recalled as uſual, yet as the executive power was always left in an aſſembly, and inveterate factions were not legally ſeparated from each other, nor impowered to controul each other, the ſame diviſions, ſeditions, and civil wars, were perpetual, till the ſame wearineſs induced the people again to confer the ſovereignty on the grand duke of Etruria, where it remains to this time. It is not eaſy to conceive what further experiments can be made of a ſovereignty in one aſſembly, or how the conſequences to be drawn from them can be more deciſive. Whether the aſſembly conſiſts of a larger or a ſmaller number, of nobles or commons, of great people or little, of rich or poor, of ſubſtantial men or the rabble, the effects are all the ſame: *No order, no ſafety, no liberty, becauſe no government of law.*

It is often ſaid, that the republics of Greece, Rome, and Tuſcany, produced in the minds of their citizens great virtues; an ardent love for their country, undaunted bravery, the love of poverty, the love of ſcience, &c. But if a little attention is beſtowed upon the ſubject, theſe will be found to be very feeble arguments in their favour. —It was not the love of their country, but of their faction. There was in every city three factions at leaſt; every citizen loved one third of his fellow-citizens, and hated the other two thirds. It is true that, in ſuch a ſtate of things, affection for friends

friends ſtrengthens in proportion to the fear and hatred of enemies, and the deſire of revenge becomes as ſtrong a paſſion, and demands gratification as imperiouſly, and perhaps more ſo than friendſhip. How was it poſſible, when men were always in war and danger, that they ſhould not be brave? Courage is a quality to be acquired by all men, by habit and practice. When ſcenes of death and carnage are every day before his eyes, how is it poſſible that a man ſhould not acquire a contempt of death, from his familiarity with it, eſpecially if life is made a burden, by continual exertion and mortification?—The love of poverty is a fictitious virtue, that never exiſted.—A preference of merit to wealth has ſometimes exiſted under all governments; but moſt of all under ariſtocracies. This is wiſdom and virtue in all. But can much of this be found in the hiſtories of any country, that was not poor, and obliged to be ſo? Can you ſee much of it in Florence and Siena? The love of ſcience and literature always grows, where there is much public deliberation and debate, and in ſuch governments, where every faculty as well as paſſion is always on the ſtretch, great energy of mind appears. But there is a form of government which produces a love of law, liberty, and country, inſtead of diſorder, irregularity, and a faction; which produces as much and more independence of ſpirit, and as undaunted bravery; as much eſteem of merit in preference to wealth, and as great ſimplicity, ſincerity, and generoſity to all the community, as others do to a faction; which produces as great a deſire of knowledge, and infinitely better faculties to purſue it; which beſides produces ſecurity of property, and the deſire and opportunities for commerce, which the others obſtruct. Shall any one heſitate then to prefer ſuch a government

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as this to all others? A conſtitution in which the people reſerve to themſelves the abſolute controul of their purſes, one eſſential branch of the legiſlature, and the inqueſt of grievances and ſtate crimes, will always produce patriotiſm, bravery, ſimplicity and ſcience; and that infinitely better for the order, ſecurity, and tranquillity they will enjoy, by putting the executive power into one hand, which it becomes their intereſt, as well as that of the nobles, to watch and controul.

LETTER IV.

BOLOGNA.

Dear Sir,

THE Tuſcans were an ancientt and original people of Italy, whoſe power was ſo conſiderable, that they extended their dominion from one ſea to the other. Theſe people, ſome ages before the foundation of Rome, built twelve cities, among which Bologna was made the capital of the kingdom.* When ſome years were elapſed, after Conſtantine, from his reverence for the holy ſee, had tranſported the throne of the empire to Byzantium, and the majeſty of the emperors was become, from its diſtance, little reſpected by the Italians, many cities, and Bologna among the reſt, in 382, inſtituted a republic. Claterna, a neighbouring city, at the diſtance of twelve miles, which had been built alſo by the Tuſcans, likewiſe erected an independent republic; but an emu-

* Bombaci, p. 2.

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lation ariſing firſt, and a war afterwards, in which the Claternates were ſubdued, and being diſcontented with their obedience to the citizens of Bologna, as they had been formerly with that to their king, they were received, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, into the country of the conquerors. This city was afterwards ruined by the barbarians, ſo entirely, that no veſtige of it remains but in hiſtory.

In 961 Otto,* emperor of the Germans, came into Italy, delivered it from the yoke of the Berengarii, obtained of the pope the crown imperial, and with general applauſe the title of Otto the Great. This prince perceiving that the cities of Italy, from their natural generoſity of ſentiment, and their diſtance from the emperor, could not be held in ſubjection, conceded to many of them their liberty, reſerving a light tribute.

† Bologna obtained, with a ſort of pre-eminence, and with a ſmaller tribute, her uſual liberty, with the privilege of electing her magiſtrates with a mixed authority, and, conformably to the inſtitution of Otto, with three councils, gave a form to her republic, with the title of a community. The one was the Council of the Credenza, which was that of the conſuls and the other magiſ-

* Muratori, Annals, tom. v. p. 397, anno. 961—2.

† Conſegui Bologna con maggiori preeminenza, e minori gravezze la eſperimentata liberta con facoltà d'eleggere i magiſtrati conmero e miſto impero, e conforme all' inſtituto di Ottone, contre ſorte di conſigli diede forma alla ſua republica, contitulo di comune. L'uno fù il conſiglio di credenza che era quello de' conſoli, e de gli altri magiſtrati: l'altro fù il particolare che comprendava i nobili: il terzo fù il generale, et era quello del popolo, quale però ſenza podeſtà de ſuffragi, ſi raddunava ad eſſer preſente à giuramenti de' magiſtrate, et ad altre ſomiglianti apparenze.—Hiſtorie memorabili della Citta di Bologna riſtrette da Gaſparo Bombaci, p. 9.

trates;

trates; the other was called the Special Council, and comprehended the nobility; the third was called the General Council, and was that of the people, which, without the power of ſuffrage, was aſſembled, in order to be preſent at the adminiſtration of the oaths to the magiſtrates, and other ſimilar public appearances. In this conſtitution there is a ſhadow, and no more, of three branches. The people, who ought to conſtitute an eſſential part, were excluded from all influence, and only called out occaſionally to look at their rulers, and gratify their ſenſes with ſhouts of acclamation. The credenza and the nobility formed an ariſtocracy, in which the magiſtrates were appointed, and the adminiſtration conducted. It ſeems to have been an imitation of the Roman conſuls and ſenate, without even the poor expedient of a tribune to controul them.

In 1153 the cities of Italy began to elect pretors, whom they named podeſta or bailiffs; and, excited by their example, the citizens of Bologna elected Guido Saſſo to that magiſtracy, and inveſted him publicly with the ſceptre and the ſword of juſtice. This was a reduction of the diviſions of the republic to that union which is the effect of the government of a ſingle perſon, againſt the corruption of which they endeavoured to provide by the college of conſuls, and by the brevity of annual magiſtrates.

Felſinus, king of Tuſcany, was the founder of the royal city of Bologna, the mother of arts, ſciences, and ſtudies, and the nurſe of laws, and, after his own name, called it Felſina. This city, which the Italian authors delight to deſcribe, is ſituated at the foot of the Apennines, in the middle of the Emilian Way, in the 44th degree of latitude,

latitude, between mountains and plains equally beautiful and fertile: in the north a fruitful plain, in the eaſt the river Savena, in the weſt the Rhine; not far from the ſea, and in the neighbourhood of lakes and rivers abounding with fiſh. The air is temperate, and the country plentiful of every thing neceſſary and uſeful to human life*. This glorious city was by the kings of Tuſcany made the metropolis of their dominion, and the ſeat of their reſidence. Their empire indeed extended only over the twelve cities, of which this was the firſt; the others were Veii, Chiuſi, Cortona, Populonia, Tarquini, Vetulonia, Volterra, Volſena, Roſelle, Perugia, Arezzo, and Fieſole.

In the year 1123 the form of the republic of Bologna, the ſtate of the city, and the cuſtoms of the citizens, were as follow. Thoſe who ſhall read their hiſtory, will eaſily percieve that this republic did not, in thoſe ancient and rude times, adminiſter the city ſcientificly, nor conduct ſkilfully the affairs of war. They elected three councils, a ſpecial council, a general council, and a council of credenza, in the authority of which, with their magiſtrates and judges, conſiſted the ſupreme government. The ſpecial council was elected annually in this manner: In the beginning of December the ſpecial council and general council were convocated, either by the conſuls or by the pretor, according as one or the other of thoſe officers happened to be in the government of the republic, in preſence of whom, every one of the council, obſerving the order of his tribe, made his election and extraction of his lot. For this purpoſe, their ſtood before a tribunal two urns, out

* Ghirardacci, Hiſtoria di Bologna, p 2.

of

of one of which were taken as many blank votes, as there were men of that tribe preſent in council, and on them their names were written; in the other were as many other blank briefs, ten excepted, written by the hands of two brothers hermits of St. Auguſtin, deputed by the council for that purpoſe. When the extraction was to be made of the firſt tribe, a boy of the age of twelve years, or leſs, drew a brief from the principal urn, and he whoſe name came out preſented himſelf at the tribunal; and the boy at the ſecond urn drew another brief, which if by chance it was blank, ſuch a one was excluded from the election of the council; but if the ticket was written, ſuch a one was an elector: and this method was followed, until the ten blank tickets declared the ten electors of that tribe. This being done, the ſame was repeated by the men of the other tribes, one by one, until forty men, that is to ſay, ten for each tribe, were electors. Then thefor ty electors retired to a ſecret place, and elected ſix hundred men, that is to ſay, 150 for each tribe, excluding however the mean and poor artiſans, occupied in low and baſe works, and none of the minors of eighteen years were obligd to accept of this office; and theſe ſix hundred men preſented themſelves to the ſpecial council. In the ſame manner and order, in ſubſtance, in three days, was elected the council of credenza; but all the doctors of laws, without other qualification or appointment, might enter this council, and that of the ſix hundred. After three days more, exactly in the ſame mode, were elected the general council; but he who had been an elector in one council could not be an elector in another. Theſe councils congregated ſometimes all together, and at other times one by itſelf, according to the nature

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of the buſineſs; and aſſembled at the ſound of the bells or the trumpets. There were provided by theſe councils three bells, the leſſer, the middle, and the greater: for the ſpecial council the ſmaller bell was rung, for the council of credenza the middle, and for the council general the greater. It was forbidden to the conſuls, or the pretor, to convocate the councils, if he had not previouſly ordered to be written in the chancery, in a book provided for that purpoſe, the buſineſs which was to be propoſed and treated. When the council was collected, the chancellor propoſed in public the ſubject, that was to be conſidered; and this being propoſed, the orators, who were four, and ſtood near the tribunal of the magiſtrates, reaſoned in public: a like privilege was granted to the orators of the magiſtrates, who were alſo four; but this merely relating to the affairs of the magiſtracy, whoſe opinions, in anſwer to the queſtion ſeparately put to them, were written down, and called the reſolution or diviſion. It was ſometimes tolerated, when it appeared to be neceſſary, that private or individual magiſtrates ſhould harangue in council, who aſcending a pulpit, with a loud voice delivered their opinions; and upon the queſtions propoſed to them a diviſion was made, or a reſolution taken. Theſe diviſions were made in various ways: ſometimes the opinions of every one were taken in ſecret, and written down by a notary, one by one; at other times every one gave his vote openly and audibly, and frequently the deciſion was made by white and black beans: now thoſe of one opinion went to one ſide of the room, and thoſe of a different judgment to the other: then one party ſtood up, and another ſat down; and in theſe caſes the voices were numbered by the miniſters publicly. The will and

reſolution of the council being determined, the decree was publiſhed, and recorded in a book, and another council could not be convoked till this decree was made. A number of notaries were employed; ſome to write the ſpeeches and opinions, others to publiſh the decrees, and others to receive the laws. Such were the uſages of the councils of this republic, which was honoured with the name of commons, or community. Of the magiſtrates, ſome were ordinary, others extraordinary: the ordinary were created and deputed every year in the republic, and were called the magiſtrates of the court; the extraordinary were thoſe who were deputed for ſome extraordinary buſineſs. The principal ordinary magiſtrates were the conſuls of the community, or the pretor inſtead of them. The conſuls of juſtice, the judges of the community, the attorney general, the judges of appeals, the judges of new crimes, the judges of the office of exiles or outlaws, the judges of new cauſes, a judge who was the executioner of ſentences, the queſtor, and all others, had their ſoldiers and notaries. The extraordinary were the legates, curators, and ſyndics. The ſame mode was obſerved in the choice of conſuls as of counſellors. The election of pretor was in this manner: In the month of September the councils general and ſpecial were called together at the pleaſure of the magiſtrate; but before they convened, the day and hour that this and that tribe was to appear was publiſhed, and in the manner already deſcribed in the election of counſellors, the forty men were drawn from one and the other council aſſembled, excluding however the magiſtrates: theſe forty ſuddenly retired to a ſecret chamber, where they were locked up by the conſuls of the ſtate, and thoſe

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of the merchants and bankers, that no one might, by word or letter, be corrupted; and if, through the whole night and the next day, by conſent at leaſt of twenty-ſeven of them, they had not created a pretor, they loſt the authority of the election, and the next day the pretor convoked the general council, and the council of credenza, and from one and the other were deputed, as before, forty men; and if theſe, to the number of twenty-ſeven, could not agree, the election and deputation of the pretor was reduced to a ſuffrage or joint ballot of the general council and council of credenza. The pretor might be elected from any city, at the pleaſure of the council, provided he was not a relation of any of the electors in the third degree, or nearer, poſſeſſed a real eſtate in Bologna or its territory, was not leſs than ſix and thirty years of age; and it was an injunction always to elect a man of reputation, virtuous, noble, and wiſe. Of right, according to the ſtatute, a pretor might be elected from the place of the antecedent pretor (and this was ſometimes practiſed but he might not be his relation. The election ended and publiſhed to the councils, public letters were written to the pretor elect, requeſting his acceptance of the honour that was offered him; and upon the day when he made his entry into the city, he was met and honoured by all the people. The pretor had the ſame prerogatives and authorities which the conſuls had, and therefore, according to the times, the republic was governed ſometimes by conſuls, and ſometimes by pretors, and ſometimes there were at once both conſuls and a pretor, as appears by inſtruments ſigned both by the conſuls and a pretor in the years 1177 and 1179. It appears, that the conſuls citizens ſometimes came to an election of a foreigner for a pretor,

pretor, to compoſe the diſcords which aroſe between the citizens and ſuch as abuſed their liberty, to the end that they might call delinquents to account, and puniſh with ſome ſeverity, and not fluctuate ſo eaſily from love or hatred, fear or favour. But becauſe for the moſt part the pretors were not ſkilled in the laws, they conducted with them at firſt two, and afterwards four judges of the law, and the pretors were decorated with high hats, long ſwords, and a ſceptre, to denote their power; and from this they were afterwards vulgarly called podeſta. Beſides the conſuls or the pretor, in whom reſided almoſt the ſum-total of the republic in peace and war, certain other magiſtrates, as has been mentioned, governed, and the mode of electing them was the ſame. Two tribes were called out to the lot one day, and the two others the next; and the deputed or rather caſual electors, were prohibited to chooſe a father, ſon, brother, or any other relation, and moreover ſuch as were inept, unſkilful, or incapable of ſuch government: and according as any one was elected, he was proclaimed with a loud voice in council. And to obviate all frauds which might be attempted, the ten briefs or written tickets being drawn, all the reſt were examined in preſence of the council, to ſee that there were no more than the law allowed. It was provided by law, that no one could elect or publiſh a magiſtrate who did not pay twenty pence into the purſes of the treaſury, which were recoverable by the pretor; and it was forbidden to any one to accept of the office if he had not been out of it one year. None could be elected, but by that tribe, in which he had his domicil; and every one, who entered on a magiſtracy, took an oath to exerciſe his office with integrity and fidelity. Beſides the magiſtrates already mentioned,

tioned, there were thoſe of the militia; the mode of electing whom was the ſame, but the government different. The *command in chief* of the militia was given to the conſuls or *to the pretor.* The officers of the army were different among the cavalry, in the infantry, of the people, and laſtly of the triumphal chariots. The officers or prefects of the foot, of the horſe, or of the people, becauſe they carried a ſtandard (gonfalone) were called gonfaloniers, and each one in his tribe, in council, by his own fellow tribunes, was elected, in the manner before deſcribed. Moreover, ſome citizens ſerved in the militia on foot, and ſome others on horſeback; and theſe performed the ſervice more voluntarily than when deputed by commiſſion of the magiſtrates to that purpoſe: wherefore, when any enterpriſe was undertaken by the military order, every one, whether of the foot or the horſe, according to the neceſſity, went out under his own ſtandard or enſign; and if the ſervice required a greater appearance, each gonfalonier of the people led out his own tribe, and then it was ſaid, that the people were gone out; and it rarely happened, that all the tribes went out at once, but at one time the infantry of one tribe and the cavalry of another, at another time one whole tribe, and upon another occaſion another. In the militia were enrolled all the men from eighteen years of age to ſeventy, at which age men were releaſed from all public offices, ſo as to be even rejected from the council; and if by accident any old men, who exceeded that age, raſhly entered the council, they were forbidden the election. In every pariſh, by deputed muſter-maſters, were deſcribed or regiſtered in order thoſe who kept horſes for war. Theſe orders, which were enregiſtered ſometimes by tens, and ſometimes

times by twenty-five, according to the number of the ſoldiers, and deſcribed by the muſter-maſters, at certain periods conducted their horſes to officers deputed for the ſervice, to be reviewed and approved, and notaries took down their names, with their furniture, and the qualities of the horſes. Military expeditions were of two ſorts; one with ſquadrons or legions of light horſe, the other with regular armies; and very great was the difference between being commanded out upon an excurſion of troopers, and an expedition with the army; and ſo frequent were the excurſions of the cavalry, that it was ordained, that in every tribe there ſhould be public marſhals or horſeſhoers, and every maſter of a bourg ſhould have always ready, and in order, all the inſtruments for ſhoeing horſes, to the end that the cavalry paſſing that way, and having occaſion, might be always ſerved. The treaſurer paid a certain ſtipend to every magiſtrate, and kept an account of the public revenues and all expences. The revenues conſiſted in tributes, gifts, tools, and cuſtoms. The gifts were upon the doors, bankers, lands, mills, oxen, &c.—and if the revenue was not ſufficient for the expences of the war, by order of council was impoſed a tax upon polls and eſtates, according to every man's poſſeſſions and incomes. Thus much concerning the ordinary magiſtrates. The extraordinary were always elected by the pretor, as the ambaſſadors, directors of public works, and the ſyndics. No magiſtrate could go upon any embaſſy; and whoever was ſent abroad out of the territory upon any embaſſy, they aſſigned him three horſes, two notaries, and one cook; and if the embaſſy was to the pope or the emperor, the expence and the company and attendants were ordered at the diſcretion of the council. A commiſ-

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ſion was given the ambaſſador in writing, and the whole legation was governed by their inſtructions. It was ordained in general terms, that no one ſhould petition or *ſeek* to be created of the number of magiſtrates, and if any one was known to *ſeek* it, his conduct was publicly related in council, and it was reproached to him as the greateſt infamy. The officers of ſtate, with the title of podeſta, with his judges and notaries, were elected part from the mountains, and partly from the plains or low lands. The caſtles which were ſubject to the Bologneſe elected alſo their own conſuls, and, when they were commanded, went to war with them, and carried various ſtandards. All the burthens and tributes were much heavier upon them than upon the citizens, excepting thoſe who, for ſome particular merit, had been exempted by the council. There were many colleges or companies in the city, as that of the merchants, the goldſmiths, and the artificers. The merchants and goldſmiths created their own conſuls, and the companies of artificers appointed their own ſeigniors or treaſurers; and thoſe, who were able to do it, collected together in aſſociations for the promotion of commerce and improvement in the arts. The people and the city afterwards increaſing, there were elected certain colleges of arms, one called that of the Lombards, another della Branca, and another del Goffone; and theſe had the care of the arms of the republic, and were decorated by the city with many privileges: and the foreigners, who were of theſe companies, were made citizens of Bologna, if they had been houſeholders ten years in the city, and might be of the council of the commons, ſtewards of companies, and magiſtrates equally with other citizens. The greateſt part of the labourers in the country were

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ſlaves of the nobles, from which ſervitude however they were afterwards liberated, the community paying a certain ſum of money to their maſters. All theſe particulars of their conſtitution were found in the ancient cuſtoms, or the privileges granted or confirmed by the emperors, or in the decrees of the councils, or in the laws of the city: the former were called reformers, the latter ſtatutes. The decrees were thoſe ordinances which, at the prayer of the pretor, were accepted by the councils, or made by him, and approved by them. The laws were no other than the ordinances made by the legiſlators, which were called ſtatutieri, or lawgivers. No ordinary magiſtrate was of theſe legiſlators, but they were deputed, according to the wants of the city, from time to time, and, after the example of the Athenians, reviewed the old laws, and altered, amended, accommodated, and reformed them, according to their judgments. The laws which theſe legiſlators made were reported to the council, by them recited publicly to the people, and written in the volumes of Civil Reaſon, which were called the Statute Books. This conſtitution was preſerved till after the year 1250.—The houſes were of wood, without much ornament or ſkill in architecture; and from this cauſe they were frequently expoſed to terrible fires. Among all the buildings, the moſt noble objects were the ſteeples and towers, built upon the churches and all the houſes of the principal citizens. The frequent fires, and the common calamities of Italy, the deluges of water, and the frequent exiles of the citizens, are ſuppoſed to have deſtroyed many objects, and buried in oblivion many facts worthy of eternal remembrance. There are greater traces of an artificial and ſcientifical legiſlation in this conſtitution, than in either that

that of Florence or Siena; nevertheleſs all authority, legiſlative, executive and judicial, was in one council, for when the ſpecial and general council met together they acted as one, and when one met alone it acted as ſovereign: the podeſta, and his judges and notaries, were only deputies of the council. Although ſo much pains was taken, by mixing lot with choice, by rotations, and other prudent precautions, to prevent ambition, faction, and ſedition from entering, all was ineffectual.—Omitting moſt of the wars, foreign and domeſtic, we may ſelect a few inſtances from whence the operation of this form of government may be evinced.

Henry the Fifth, as he was called, but of Germany the Sixth, after his ſucceſſion to his father Frederick, paſſing through Bologna with Conſtantia his wife, in his way to Rome, to receive the imperial crown, was magnificently received by the people, and entertained by Gerardo, biſhop of Bologna, in the biſhop's palace; and, in acknowledgment of his kind reception, gave to Gerard the title of Prince, which was afterwards retained by the biſhops of Bologna. Henry was not only crowned as emperor, but with much ceremony inveſted in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, as the inheritance of his wife Conſtantia.

In the next year, Gerardo, biſhop of Bologna, by his favour with the emperor and the pope, and the privileges he had obtained for the city, was grown into ſuch reputation for juſtice and virtue with all men, that he was conſtituted pretor with great popularity, and in the beginning of his dignity he contracted a friendſhip with Albert the count of Prato, and made a treaty for mutual defence. Gerardo having the firſt year adminiſtered in ſuch a manner as to be thought a

bright example of a good and moderate government, a little afterwards ſeemed to be changed in his whole nature, began to deſire innovations, openly to favour the plebeians, oppreſſing the nobles and firſt men of the city, which gave occaſion to great diſorders and ſeditions: for the patricians, who had conferred upon him the office, and were accuſtomed and habituated to the command of others, could not eaſily tolerate the injuries and humiliations impoſed upon them, and the evident partiality of the pretor; ſo that having congregated in the palace, they created twelve conſuls, of men of great authority in Bologna. Girardo hearing of the election of conſuls, was in high wrath, and began to threaten them with an angry countenance; but they ſuddenly publiſhed to the people that he was depoſed from the office of pretor. Giacomo Orſi, a powerful citizen, and a favourer of Girardo, collected a company of armed men, and attempted to oppoſe the reſolution of the conſuls and patricians; whereupon Specialino Griffoni, not leſs celebrated in letters than in arms, and one who was ſtudious and intent upon maintaining the republic, turned round to the nobles, and harangued them as follows: "Is it conſiſtent with our duty or our "honour, fellow-citizens, to ſuffer that autho- "rity, which for three hundred years and more "we have enjoyed, of directing this our repub- "lic, to be wreſted from us by a private perſon, by "us alone, for the univerſal ſafety of the city, "placed in the government of it? Shall we ſub- "mit to become like the vileſt populace, eſteem- "ed of no importance or authority, and ſubjected "to that Gerardo, to whom we are, and for "ever ſhall be, objects of jealouſy and terror, as "long as our republic ſhall have any energy, or

"be

" be in ſafety ? Let your generous ſouls enkindle " in a moment : never think of bearing this in- " ſupportable tyranny ; and let the object itſelf, " and the opportunity of the moment, rouze you " to this enterpriſe, infinitely more than my " words ; and accept of me, according to your " pleaſure, either as a ſoldier, or a captain in the " ſervice, to which I am willing to devote my " ſoul and body." Amidſt all this ariſtocratical thunder, the ſtill voice of reaſon and experience whiſpers to a candid reader the probability that the nobles were more tyrannical than Gerardo ; that the people were impatient under it ; Gerardo diſpoſed to alleviate their burthens ; and the nobles thence alarmed with the apprehenſion of a maſter over themſelves, rather than over the people. The ſpeech being ended, he ſeized his arms, and, accompanied by the conſuls and the greater part of the nobles, marched to the biſhop's palace. Giacomo Orſi, with thoſe devoted to him, oppoſing them in arms, they came to action; but Giacomo not being able to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the aſſailants, with great difficulty ſaved himſelf, with Gerardo, by flying from the city. The conſuls, diſappointed by their flight, were the more exaſperated againſt Orſi, and ſeeing they had them not in their power, they declared them rebels againſt the republic, confiſcated all their property, and ordered their houſes and towers to the ground. Such deciſion delivered the city for the preſent from this violent ſedition, and with as much virtue as that which delivered the Roman patricians from Melius or Manlius.

But the next year, under new conſuls, although it appeared that the ſedition of Gerardo was quieted, and that no diſpoſition remained for innovation, yet all on a ſudden, on the firſt of July, ſome

ſome of his abettors proceeded from words to blows with ſome of the adverſe party, in which affray Pietro Scannebecci loſt his right hand, and Scannabecci Rampeni lay mortally wounded, among many others both killed and wounded. The day after both parties having prepared their arms, came to battle again in the palace of the community, when Giuſeppe Occellette and Tomaſo Taſchi da i Gieremei, fautors of Gerardo, were ſlain; whereupon the conſuls were again obliged to recur to arms againſt Gerardo, who having taken poſſeſſion of a caſtle called Sorreſano, had there fortified himſelf. They ſent out Guglielmo Malavolti, a conſul, with a choſen band of ſoldiers, who conducted with ſo much ſkill and bravery, that he chaſed Gerardo from his fortreſs, and burnt his caſtle. In a ſhort time the emperor Henry, by a decree, liberated the biſhop, Gerardo, whom he ſtill called his prince in all his cauſes, from his oath of calumny, and permits him to exerciſe his functions in all his cauſes, and thoſe of the biſhopric, by an adminiſtrator, or other legitimate perſon.

The next year, 1195, it ſeems they tried the experiment of a pretor again (that is to ſay, as we may conjecture the family of Gieremei, and their party) prevailed in the public councils to carry this point and Guido Cino was elected. But in his adminiſtration, following the ſteps of Gerardo, after having done inſupportable things againſt many perſons, he was diſhonourably depoſed from his office, and accuſed of an infinite number of iniquities; and attempting to fly, was by thoſe whom he had offended made priſoner, and for his puniſhment all his teeth were drawn out of his head, and then he was ſet at liberty, and in his place was appointed Guido da Vilmercato, of Milan.

In

In 1202 civil diſcords aroſe in the city, by which Bologna was not a little troubled and afflicted. The firſt diſorder that occurred, aroſe from an ancient enmity between the Aſinelli and the Scannabecci. Theſe two factions meeting in the high ſtreet, with a ſudden and impetuous onſet engaged in arms, and many were killed and wounded on both ſides. This quarrel was compoſed, by the interpoſition of the pretor and the other nobles; but another ſoon aroſe from a more private offence, becauſe Giovanni Tettalaſini had killed Guido Peppoli: this enmity between theſe two families continued for forty years before it was pacified.

In 1212, upon ſome public occaſion, among a great concourſe of nobility on horſeback, Gieremia Malavolti falling from his horſe, was killed, to the grief of the people and the emperor, and probably to the equal joy of the nobility.

In the year 1218. there were in the city of Bologna ten thouſand ſcholars at the academy for the ſtudy of the law, in ſuch reputation was that univerſity.

The quarrel between Frederic the emperor, and Gregory the pope, revived in Bologna the party diſtinctions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, drawn from Germany in the time of Henry the Fourth. Not only ſome cities favoured the emperor, and others the pontiff, but in the city of Bologna the citizens arrived to that degree of extreme madneſs, that, in hatred of each other, they ſtrove to deprive each other of their lives and fortunes together. Sons became enemies to their fathers, and brothers to brothers, and, as if it was not enough to ſhed their own blood, like mad dogs, they proceeded to demoliſh houſes, and to burning the

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cities, the trees, and the corn. This diabolical peſtilence produced ſuch an averſion to each other, that they ſtudied to diſtinguiſh themſelves in all things: in their cloaths, in the colours they wore, in their actions, their ſpeech, their walk, their food, their ſalutations, their drink, their manner of cutting bread, in folding their napkins, in the cut of their hair, and innumerable other extravagances equally whimſical. A plague truly horrible, a flame wholly inextinguiſhable, which proved the extinction of ſo many noble families, and the ruin of ſo many miſerable cities.

The next year, under the pretorſhip of Uberto Viſconti, out of a violent ſedition aroſe a cruel war. Gottifredo, count of Romagna, favourite of Frederick, took Manzolino, a caſtle of Romagna, and from it drove out the prefect of Bologna, who returned home, and excited the people to a violent revolt, becauſe every one lamented that the caſtle, by the neglect or miſconduct of the pretor, and of thoſe who governed in the city, was loſt, as they pretended; and in ſuch manner did this conceived indignation increaſe in the hearts of all, that ſeizing their arms, againſt the reſolution of the republic, they collected together in the piazza, made immediately a captain of one Giuſeppe Toſchi, a man not only bold but raſh, and, with terrible huzzas, ran tumultuouſly to the palace of the pretor, where Giuſeppe demanded the ſtandard of the people, and the armed guards of the palace, declaring that he would go out and meet the enemy, that he might not commit further depredations on the territory of Bologna. The pretor refuſed his demand; but Giuſeppe, conſulting only his own temerity, broke open the gates of the palace, forced his entry into it, ran-

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ſacked every thing, and having burnt all the papers of the pretor, to acquire more favour with the people, turned out all the public tables, rung the bells againſt the order of the pretor and the guards, and having thus collected all the people armed in the piazza, he conducted out the triumphal car of the pretor, and ordered all things for a war. He then arranges 4000 infantry under Bornio Gieremei, whoſe tool he probably was, 800 cavalry under Orſo Caccianemici and Prendiparti Prendiparti, four hundred men at arms, under Alberto Gallucci and Lodovico Arioſti; and in this curious manner a foundation was laid for a change in the commonwealth, and an inſtitution of the People. They called by this name, *The People*, the new republic placed in the hands of the people, whoſe ſuperintendants were appointed to be, the perfect of the people, the antiani, the conſuls of the merchants, and the maſters of colleges. According to Thomas Acquinas, the antiani were inſtituted in the cities of Italy, that they might take the part of the plebeians, as were the tribunes in Rome: but after this Giuſeppe, whom they created prefect of the people, no other prefect is mentioned till 1255. The Florentines and the Genoeſe having ordained a republic of the people about the ſame time, introduced alſo the prefect of the people and the antiani; and theſe popular republics were ſuſtained, with their proper councils, to whom the prefects were rectors or preſidents: and at the head of the antiani alſo were the pretors and their judges; and ſix antiani were created from all the four and twenty tribes, and as long as the uſe and creation of theſe antiani continued in this ſort of republic, their number was often increaſed, as well as that of the conſuls of merchants and maſters

maſters of colleges. By this change of government the republic became involved in two wars at once, with Imola and Modena; and the people of Bologna, finding their affairs not ſucceed to their wiſhes, roſe in a tumult, and killed Rolando Formaglini, ſuperintendant of Piumazzo, becauſe his fortreſs was taken by the enemy, alledging their ſuſpicions that he had betrayed it for money. The animoſities of the Guelphs and Ghibellines mixing with the diſputes between the nobles and commons, produced convulſions in every city, eſpecially in thoſe adhering to Frederick, that in Modena, Reggio, Parma, Cremona, Bergamo, and Pavia, thoſe who favoured the church were finally expelled by the power of their adverſaries, and driven into exile; and Bologna ſtill continued to be agitated with ſeditions, as well as with diſputes with their biſhop and the pope, by whom they were excommunicated.

In 1234 they ſettled the controverſy with the biſhop, but a greater tumult than had ever been known aroſe, on account of Alberto Lambertacci who being in the piazza, and ſeeing Gabriel Sancio his enemy, killed him. This homicide put arms into the hands of a multitude of citizens. The pretor not having the criminal in his power, publiſhed a proclamation againſt him. The relations and friends of the deceaſed looked out for a ſevere revenge; and as they ſaw that the party of the Lambertacci were upon their guard, and went about prepared, with a great retinue of armed men, they conſulted together about the manner of coming to action. Meeting one day with Alphonſo, the brother of Albert, they came to a rude ſcuffle together, in which much blood was ſhed, and much more miſchief would have been

been done, of the interpoſition of the pretor had not interrupted it for the preſent: but this broil was the beginning of diſcords and ſeditions which laſted a long time. The hatred between the moſt conſiderable families had grown ſo inveterate, having continued, with few interruptions, for forty years, viz. from the death of Guido Peppoli, that much bloodſhed was apprehended; but John of Bologna, a famous preacher, coming into the city, preached peace, charity, and benovelence, to his immortal honour, with ſo much ſucceſs, that a kind of reconciliation was made between the families of Delfini and Malataſchi; Torelli and Andalo; Griffeni, Artemiſſii, and Caſtel de Britti; Gallucci and Carboneſi; Lambertini and Scannabecchi; Peppoli and Tettalaſini; who had been conſtant enemies—and feveral intermarriages ware contracted among them.

In the year 1244 is found the next mention of the antiani of the people, who preſided in the inſtituted republic of the people, and moderated in two councils; one called the little council, which they, with the conſuls of the merchants and goldſmiths, maſters of the arts and of arms, with the gonfalonier of the people, and the colleges and their counſellors, compoſed; and the other they called the grand council, in which they alſo were again found, with the other larger number of counſellors; and all that was by theſe ordained was perpetually to be obſerved: ſo that all laws were made, executed, and judged by the majority of this ſingle council, or by perſons deputed by them; the ſame original and eſſential fault that had occaſioned their miſeries, and continued to increaſe them.

In 1248, making ſecretly great preparations for war, and calling to their aſſiſtance L a Marca Romagna and Azzo da Eſte, they created

eight noblemen to conduct the war againſt the Modeneſe; theſe were Alberto Gallucci, Lambertacci, Prendiparti, Samartitani, Scannebecchi, Arioſti, Guido Gieremei, and Cottellani. For captain general they elected the marquis Azzo da Eſte; but he being infirm, to ſhew his gratitude to the ſenate, he ſent them three thouſand cavalry, and two thouſand foot. Gieremei had command of half the men at arms, and Lambertacci of the infantry. It appears from this, that though the government was called popular and the people, that the people was no more than an ariſtocracy, and that the nobles were not excluded. The two families of Gieremei and Lambertacci were very near the head of the republic, and, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, moſt eagerly contending for the foremoſt ſtation. An obſtinate battle was fought, in which great exertions both of ſkill and bravery were ſhewn, and a complete victory obtained by the Bologneſe, and king Hentio taken priſoner.

In 1254 in the council general and ſpecial of the commons of Bologna, were confirmed the treaties with the marquis da Eſte and the commons of Ferrara. The next year the republic adorned itſelf with a new magiſtrate, Ricardo Villa being made pretor; but becauſe the pretor was the ſuperintendant of the republic of nobles, which was called *The commons*, it was now their pleaſure that there ſhould be a prefect, or captain of the people, who ſhould govern the popular republic, called *The People*. This dignity had been laid aſide a long time, though it had been the original title of the firſt magiſtrate, but was now revived, and Giordino Lucino was elected to it.—Separating the functions, it was ordained, that the pretor ſhould have the authority and juriſdiction of

of the city, and be ſuperintendant of the councils of the commons, and that the captain ſhould adminiſter in war abroad; that within the city the councils of the people ſhould govern, and confer in the public buſineſs with the antiani.

In the year 1257 a tranſaction was completed, which alone ought to be ſufficient to immortaliſe the republic of Bologna. There is among the records of that city a book, intitled "The "Paradiſe of pleaſure," which contains the decree of the 3d of June, 1257, by which all the ſlaves and villains were manumitted, and taxed annually in a certain quantity of corn, which was conſigned to the care of an officer, already inſtituted and called the pretor of the ſack, who was appointed in the ſame manner with the pretors of the caſtles. This law prepared at firſt by the legiſlators, was, by the councils of the people, congregated by the ringing of bells according to the uſage recited and approved. The record is in ſubſtance—"In the beginning God Almighty "planted a paradiſe of pleaſure, in which he "placed man, whom he had created and cloathed "with a white robe of innocence, giving him a "perfect and perpetual liberty; but the wretch, "unmindful of his own dignity and the divine "munificence, taſted of the apple forbidden him "by the commandment of Heaven, and thereby "dragged himſelf and all his poſterity down into "this valley of miſery, poiſoned the human race, "and moſt miſerably bound it in the chains of "diabolical ſervitude: and thus from incorruptable it was made corruptable, from immortal, "mortal, ſubjected to continual viciſſitudes and "moſt grievous ſlavery. God, however, beholding that the whole world had periſhed, had "compaſſion on the human race, and ſent his "only

" only begotten ſon, born of the virgin Mary, who,
" co-operating with the grace of the Holy Ghoſt,
" to the glory of his own dignity, breaking the
" bonds with which we were held captive, re-
" ſtored us to our primitive liberty: and there-
" fore it is very juſtly queſtioned, whether men,
" whom nature from the beginning produced and
" created free, and the law of nations only ſub-
" jected to the yoke of ſervitude, ought not to be
" reſtored to the bleſſing of manumiſſion;—theſe
" men, who are the diſgrace of the cauſe of
" liberty! In conſideration of which the noble
" city of Bologna, which has always contended
" and fought for liberty, recollecting the paſt
" and providing for the future, in honour of Jeſus
" Chriſt our Lord and Redeemer, has redeemed, by
" a price in money, all thoſe who, in the city of
" Bologna and its biſhopric, were found confined
" in a ſervile condition, and decreed them to be
" free, after a diligent examination, ordaining
" that no one conſtrained in any kind of ſlavery
" in the city epiſcopacy, ſhall dare to remain
" or be detained in it. And leſt ſo great a maſs
" of natural liberty, redeemed by a price, ſhould
" corrupt, by any remaining mixture of ſlavery,
" as a moderate fermentation corrupts the whole
" maſs, and the ſociety of one evil depraves many
" that are good—in the time of that noble man
" and podeſta D. Accurſius of Sorixana, whoſe
" reputation ſpreading far and wide, ſhines like a
" ſtar, and under the examination of D. Jacob
" Grataceli, his judge and aſſeſſor, whoſe ſkill,
" wiſdom, conſtancy, and temperance, recom-
" mend him to all men, the preſent memorial is
" made, which by its proper name ought juſtly
" to be called a Paradiſe, containing the names
" of all the maſters and all the ſlaves, both male

" and

"and female, that it may appear by what ser-
"vants and maids liberty is acquired, and for a
"price redeemed; to wit, ten pounds for thoſe
"of more than fourteen years of age, whether men
"or women, and eight pounds for all under that
"age, to every maſter, for every one whom he
"holds in ſervitude. This memorial was written
"by me, Conrad Sclariti, a notary, deputed to
"the office of ſervants and maids; and may it
"remain to poſterity a monument of this tranſ-
"action*." Amidſt the melancholy gloom of factions and licenciouſneſs, of injuſtice and cruelty, of fraud and violence, ſuch a gleam of humanity, equity, and magnanimity, is refreſhing. It ſhall be left to your own reflections, the firſt of which ſhall undoubtedly be a wiſh to ſee a paradiſe of pleaſure in each of the United States of America.

The temporary reconciliation of the nobles had produced proſperity and ſucceſs to the republic; but as the conſtitution remained the ſame, and war alone had preſerved the benevolent impreſſions of John the preacher, as ſoon as war was over the ſeditions of the citizens again diſturbed all the quiet and felicity. The Gallucci, Lambertacci, Arteniſi, Britti, Carboneſi, Scannabecchi, all noble families and greatly eſteemed in Bologna, could no longer reſtrain their paſſions, and, as the hiſtorian very juſtly obſerves, God knows how they could have reſtrained them ſo long. The Lambertacci were the firſt to ſet fire to the train of jealouſy and indignation, hatred and revenge, and to begin the ruin of their country. Provoked by ſome words, reported to them by their flatterers, and perhaps invented or

* Ghirardacci. lib. vi. p. 149.

exaggerated,

exaggerated, they took arms, and coming fiercely to action with the Gieremei, a great quantity of blood was ſhed on both ſides; and would have proceeded to greater extremities, if Ramponi, a man in high eſteem, had not bravely interpoſed; and by his wiſdom and valour, partly by perſuaſion and partly by force, brought them to an accommodation: yet the quarrel continued to break out at times, and prevailed even among the ſcholars. One of the tribunes of the city was dangerouſly wounded, and Raimendo, a Genoeſe, was beheaded, but this did not end the diſorder. The Gallicci and Carboneſi took up the diſpute, and ſeveral horrid murders were committed, and ſeveral of the dependancies of the republic, taking advantage of the opportunity, or excited by partiſans, rebelled. The diſorder lurked however in ſome degree of ſecrecy till 1260, when it broke out again, and the parties began to collect together companies of idle vagabonds, and on a thouſand occaſions endeavoured to come to action. Finally the Gieremei went out in arms againſt the Lambertacci, the Galucci againſt the Carboneſi, and the Lambertini againſt the Scannabecchi, the Artineſi againſt the Britti; and continued for a long ſpace of time in battle, each party aſſiſted by the families of its adherents. The pretor, with all his court, and all their forces, were obliged to turn out, and partly by his menaces, and partly by ſome ſmall remains of reverence for authority, he put a ſtop to this moſt ſanguinary and horrible rencounter, and obliged thoſe who remained alive to return to their houſes.

In 1264 theſe inteſtine broils were renewed, particularly between the families of Lambertacci and Gieremei, and while many were anxious to make peace between them, and were occupied in contriving the means of it, the

the Lambertacci, little inclined to any accommodation, by exerting all their influence and intrigues, on purpose to offend the Gieremei, procured that Peter Pagani, a powerful citizen of Imola, should be made lord of it, to the end that he might expel from thence all the friends of the Gieremei, and demolish all their houses, a commission which he fully executed. Imola, thus revolted from the obedience of Bologna, drove out Giacopino Prendiparte of Bologna, or, as others say, killed him, who was commissary and governor in the name of the city of Bologna. This action so displeased the senate, that they suddenly sent out a powerful army with the triumphal chariot, under the pretor, and obliged the usurper and his men to evacuate the post. But before this enterprise was finished, another tumult happened against the judges, one of whom, Uguccione, was assaulted and killed, and the parties were again upon the point of coming to a bloody decision, and it required the whole court in arms to disperse the tumult—Before the end of the year another tumult arose in Imola, where the Bricci, principal leaders of that city, favourers of Cujano and Saffatello, had secretly introduced many men, and drove out of the city the Imindoli, their enemies or rivals. But the people were so displeased with this violence, that they rose upon the Bricci and their followers, and with the point of the sword drove them out of the city, and called in again the Imindoli. The senate, on the news of this fidelity, bestowed the highest praises on the people, and to reward them, by removing the cause of such inconveniences, ordered that for the future they should have no pretor at all, and that all their differences should be brought before the pretor of Bologna, to be adjudged with equity

equity and celerity, upon condition that they ſhould pay the auditors or judges who ſhould hear their controverſies five hundred pounds a year. All this was chearfully accepted by the people of Imola, as much preferable to continual quarrels in arms, to determine whether the Gieremei or Lambertacci ſhould have, the appointment of one of their inſtruments to be a pretor among them.

Clement the Sixth, among the firſt acts of his pontificate, invited into Italy Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis king of France; and Uberto count of Flanders, general of Charles's army, paſſed into Italy with 40,000 men. Bologna, with Milan, Bergama, Verona, Mantoua, Ferrara, joined the church and France; 4000 men under Guido Antonio Lambertini, a noble Bologneſe, joined the pope and the king. The Lambertini indulging their enmity againſt the Bochetti, laid a plot one day to kill one of them, and thinking to find him in a certain place, where their ſpies had informed them he was, they went to ſeek him, but he was gone. In their return they met one of the Scannobecci; letting looſe their malice againſt him, they killed him, and fled. The pretor, informed of their crime and flight, iſſued a proclamation againſt them, rifled their houſes, and, to intimidate other malefactors, burnt them to the ground. Finding by theſe continual homicides that the government was too weak to reſtrain the parties, a new magiſtracy was created in the city of three men, who were to hear and prudently examine the differences among the nobles, and endeavour to appeaſe them. Andano, Malavolti, and Ramponi, all men of great candour and ſingular prudence, were choſen. Andalo was of great authority with the Ghibellines, Malavolti with the Guelphs,

Guelphs, and ſo was Romponi. Theſe, without reſpect of perſons, judging with impartiality, had a wonderful effect in the city, and with great mildneſs compoſed many diſcords and long enmities, particularly between the Aſinelli and Scannabecchi, among whom a great deal of blood had been ſpilled, and who had been a long time enemies; and, in a word, brought the city to a degree of tranquillity. It was this year that, hearing of the defeat and death of Manfred, the Ghibellines began to tremble, and the Guelphs to triumph. Florence choſe two pretors from Bologna, the ſame Malavolti and Andalo, and erected their council of thirty-ſix Guelphs and Ghibellines, diſtinguiſhed the city into factions of greater and leſſer arts, and gave every art its gonfalonier; and this year Dante the poet was born.

In 1267 Charles Calzolaio, finding a young man in Bologna in bed with his wife, killed him, to maintain his own honour, but was taken into cuſtody, and ſentenced to death by the pretor, as one who, contrary to the laws, had, by his own authority, done himſelf juſtice. This ſentence appeared to be unjuſt to the other Calzolai, who tenderly loved their brother Charles, and they united together, mutually pledged their faith to each other to reſcue him, and taking arms, went to the palace of the pretor, and forcibly delivered Charles from his priſon. This excited in the city a mighty tumult, and ſo intimidated the pretor, that he concealed himſelf in a place of ſafety. The commotion ſubſided by the exertions of the conſuls, and the fury of the Calzolai evaporated ſo far, that the ſenate ventured to enquire who were the authors of the tumult; but the heads of it were by this time eſcaped from the city, ſo that the company of the Calzolai were only fined in a ſum of money. To

this uproar ſucceeded another ſtill greater, between the Lambertini and Scannabecchi, in which many were left wounded, and many ſlain; among whom was Bartolomeo Guidozagni, a friend of the Lambertini. This tincture of blood enkindled the minds of the two parties to vengeance to ſuch a degree, that, like mad dogs*, they thought of nothing but perſecution, murder, and extermination; and they collected their friends, both within and without the city, together to this effect. The conſuls in office, to whom information was given of the danger, publiſhed a proclamation, that no man ſhould be introduced or let into the city, if he were not previouſly known to the deputies appointed to ſuperintend, who might know by that means the reaſon of his coming, and oblige him to lay down his arms. This prudent precaution in a few days quieted the factions, and the conſuls, thinking the late diſorder too light to be very ſeverely puniſhed, only made an example or two in each of the families, by confining one of the Lambertini in Mantoua, and one of the Scannabecchi in Florence; and becauſe the conſuls ſaw the violent enmities which prevailed among many noble families, which were in danger of increaſing every day to more mortal rancour, they availed themſelves of the reſolution and prudence of Andalo and Malavolti, lately returned from Florence, by electing them to compoſe the peace of the city, giving them ample powers for that end: and this meaſure ſucceeded ſo far, that the Lambertini and Scannabecchi, the Gozzadini and Arienti, Guidozagni and Orſi, Calamatoni and Sangiorgi, Bianchetti and Piccigotti, and many other noble families, were reconciled, in the pre-

* Come cani arrabbiati. Ghirardacci, p. 212.

ſence

ſence of the conſuls in the palace, with much ſatisfaction to the whole city. But as no meaſure of the executive could be taken without offence to ſome part of ſuch a divided executive authority, the conſuls, by annulling all the condemnations in the late diſturbances, excited the indignation of the pretor Dandolo, ſo that he reſigned his office. The conſuls, who were not ſorry for it, appointed Aurelio Roccadalla Torre, of Milan, in his ſtead; in this inſtance, as in many others, before and after, being obliged to appoint a foreigner for their firſt magiſtrate, to avoid the certain ſeditions and rebellions that would have been excited by the adverſe party, if any natural-born citizen, however diſtinguiſhed by merit, had been raiſed to this eminence, among his jealous peers.

In 1268 Alberto Caccianemici, for ſome offenſive words of his nephew Guido, ſon of his brother Giuamonte, which were reported to him, without examining the truth of the information, in a fit of impatience for vengeance, called his two ſons to him, and ordered them to go and put their couſin to death. His orders were executed with great inhumanity; but, in ſuch a ſtate of government and parties, the laws are overborne by popular and powerful individuals, and there is no juſtice to be had againſt them in a regular proſecution: ſo thought the people in this caſe, and therefore took upon themſelves the puniſhment of ſo atrocious a cruelty, by riſing in arms, and demoliſhing their houſes.

In 1269 another inſtance of a ſimilar but more important nature happened. The captain of the people governed ſeverely in his office, and did not do juſtice to the people, as they ſaid; and this provoked the wrath of the people ſo far, that they depoſed him. The pretor took this depoſition in

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ill part, and thought that the principal authors of it ought to be puniſhed, at leaſt in ſome ſmall degree, to diſcountenance ſuch irregularity. But this irritated the people ſo highly, that, perceiving his danger, he thought it prudent to fly; and a new pretor, as well as captain, were appointed. Thus the diſcontented nobles, although they could not, from their oppoſition to each other, obtain the firſt offices in the ſtate, had it always in their power, by ſecret machinations with the people, to excite tumults, and diſtreſs, embarraſs, and depoſe the foreigners who held them. There is an example of generoſity in the gentlemen of Bologna, in the year 1270, too much to their honour, amidſt all their quarrels, to be omitted. A great ſcarcity prevailed in all the cities of Tuſcany and Lombardy, and the people of Bologna were reduced to extreme miſery by famine. Upon this occaſion all the noblemen, and other rich men of the city, had the charity to open their ſtores, and expoſe all their corn and grain to the people; and, not ſatisfied with this, they united together, collected all the money they had, or by their credit could borrow, and offered it to the ſenate, that it might be ſent to Romagna, and other diſtant provinces, to procure a ſupply of bread for the city. This benevolent effort, however, produced an accidental ill effect; it occaſioned a rivalry in the markets for grain between Bologna and Venice, which produced reſentments, retaliating impoſts and duties, and at laſt a war, in which the Venetians were conquered. But the city of Bologna could not enjoy its triumphs in peace: malignant ſpirits in ſecret ſcattered reports and calumnies to diſturb the public tranquillity, ſometimes againſt one illuſtrious citizen, and ſometimes another. Theſe rumours coming to the ears of the ſenate,

ſenate, they exerted all their ſkill to diſcover whether the crimes alledged had been committed or not; but, after all their diligence, found no evidence, but idle ſuſpicions. Nethertheleſs the ſenators and people, taking the hint from theſe endeavours to excite diſorders, judged it would be uſeful to create a new magiſtracy of three men, of the beſt lives, and moſt wiſdom, to conſerve the quiet of the city, and to adminiſter juſtice, by rewarding the good, and chaſtiſing the inſolent diſturbers of the peace of others. To this end was given them ample authority to bear arms, and to take with them armed men; to impriſon delinquents, and accommodate all diſputes which ſhould ariſe: and theſe were called the Magiſtrates of Peace. The three chiefs divided their people into three military claſſes: one was called of Lombardy, and to this was committed the red ſtandard, with the figure of Juſtice holding a drawn ſword in her hand; the ſecond was called the Griffin, and to this was conſigned the white ſtandard, with a red griffin; the laſt was called della Branca, to which was allotted the white ſtandard, with a red lion holding a ſword. Theſe companies were greatly eſteemed in the city, and much honoured by the ſenate, who granted them ſignal privileges, regiſtering the magiſtrates as true and noble citizens. While this new magiſtracy was wholly employed in the conſervation of the honour and peace of the city, and daily reconciled the minds of the citizens, the rancour of private animoſity broke out again in the murder of Philip of Bologna, one of the company of della Branca, by Soldano de Galluci, who fled, which beyond meaſure diſpleaſed the ſenate; and not having the murderer in their power, in order to give complete ſatisfaction to the company, they publiſhed

publiſhed a capital proclamation againſt him, and demoliſhed to their foundations all the houſes he had both in town and country. By this exemplary puniſhment alone would the irritated minds of the company, who had arms in their hands, be pacified.

The next year it appears by the records, that, beſides the pretor and captain of the people, four and twenty wiſe men (ſapienti) were elected, ſix for each tribe, out of all the tribes of the city, by the antiani, to preſerve the companies of the city. They elected alſo four citizens to overſee the plentiful ſupply of the city; and five and twenty other wiſe men to ſuperintend the fortreſſes and caſtles in the country, as well as ſome things relative to the government in the city. All theſe inventions, dictated by diſtreſs, and the feeling as well as fear of the evils of diſcord, were only aggravations of the evil, as they only divided ſtill more the executive power, without dividing the legiſlative; whereas the direct contrary ought to have been the remedy, viz. they ought to have united the executive power, and divided the legiſlative, and by that means have produced that trinity in unity, which is neither a contradiction nor a myſtery, but is alone efficacious to curb the audacity of individuals, and the daring turbulence of parties. The judicial power, independent of all, is able to encounter any man or combination of men, without recurring to ſuch rigorous meaſures, inconſiſtent with liberty, as theſe new magiſtrates in Bologna were obliged to adopt. In order to purge the city of its many popular diſorders, they were obliged to forbid a great number of perſons, under grievous penalties, to enter the palace; nor was it permitted them to go about the city, nor to bear arms. All this they were obliged

obliged to do to prevent collections of people in the ſtreets. Afterwards ſome of the firſt people of the city were baniſhed, and confined to certain places abroad, and, upon pain of death, ſentenced to depart the city in three hours. It is provoking to read the perpetual cant of theſe hiſtorians, ſuch as, that in this year, 1273, Bologna having compelled the Venetians to peace, and ruling over Imola, Faenza, Forli, and the caſtles of Romagna, in peace, and by fear, by the valour of its citizens might have become great and glorious, if civil diſcords had not began again to commit their cruel ravages. Theſe diſſenſions, on the contrary, proved the ruin of the city, and were the cauſe that, by little and little, ſhe loſt her ancient authority and grandeur, and from a patron ſhe became a client, from a miſtreſs a ſubject; a miſerable fall, which began in this manner. There were in Bologna two moſt noble families, the Gieremei and the Lambertacci, between whom had long ſubſiſted, not only the party prejudices of Guelphs and Ghibellines, but a rivalry for power and pre-eminence in the ſtate; but neither party animoſities nor family jealouſies were able to prevent Imelda, a daughter of Orlando Lambertacci, a moſt beautiful young lady, from entertaining a partiality for Boniface, a ſon of Gieremia de Geremei, a moſt beautiful young man, who was deſperately in love with her. This mutual paſſion thus increaſing in their hearts from day to day, the two lovers at laſt found an opportunity to meet and converſe together. The lady's brothers being engaged in ſome amuſement at the houſe of the Caccianemici, having information of this interview, went to their ſiſter's chamber, and finding Boniface there, fell upon him with their envenomed tempers and weapons,

weapons, and perforated in an inſtant his breaſt and his heart, their miſerable ſiſter flying in deſpair from their fury. Having committed the murder, they concealed the body in a ſink, which ran under ſome apartment in the houſe, and fled from the city. The murderers departed, Imelda, full of apprehenſions and terrible preſages of what ſhe ſhould diſcover, ventured to return to her chamber, and ſeeing upon the floor a rivulet of blood, ſhe followed its direction, and opening the place where her lover lay, ſhe threw her delicate perſon on his body, ſtill warm and bleeding, and diſtracted with tenderneſs and grief, applied her lips to his wounds, and drew in the poiſon with his blood, and while her thoughts were wholly confounded with the pangs of her grief for her loſt lover, the poiſon ſpread over her whole frame to her heart, and Imelda fell dead into the arms of her Boniface. A cataſtrophe ſo tragical could not be recited on a ſtage, without affecting in the moſt ſenſible manner the moſt unfeeling audience. The diſcovery of it to the public in Bologna could not, one would think, but melt the moſt obdurate heart of faction, and ſoften the ſavage monſter to humanity; but the effect of it was ſo contrary to this, that it wrought up the hatred between the two factions to a mortal contagion, which increaſed and ſpread till it ruined and enſlaved the republic. While the unfortunate fate of Boniface and Imelda depreſſed the ſpirits of the two noble families, the ſenate underſtanding that the city of Forli had rebelled, and that the Aigoni, according to the ſtipulation, were not reſtored to their country, called the council together, and the queſtion was propoſed, Whether they ought firſt to march againſt the rebels of Forli, or merely to reſtore the Aigoni to Modena? The Lambertacci adviſed, that the firſt

firſt attention ſhould be given to the cauſe of the Aigoni; and on the contrary the Gieremei adviſed that they ſhould firſt endeavour to ſubjugate Forli. The parties not agreeing in opinion, they begun to fall into confuſion. Finally, the council of the Gieremei prevailing, the army was ſent out, and laid cloſe ſiege to Forli.

The following year, the ſenate having much at the heart the reduction of Forli, reſolved, in order to chaſtiſe ſo great a diſobedience, to order out the triumphal chariot, and all their army. The pretor enters the ſenate to take leave for his departure to the war, and there found Antonio Lambertacci labouring to convince them that the enterpriſe againſt Forli would not ſucceed. After having urged many arguments, he began to trample under foot the honour of the Gieremei, who had carried this point againſt him. Gieremeo Gieremei, who was preſent, provoked at his inſolence, gave him the lye, and by mutual agreement they went out of the palace into the piazza, where they drew their ſwords and began the combat. A great crowd of the two factions ſoon gathered about them, and fell to fighting all together, ſo that much blood was ſhed, and the battle grew more hot, and greater numbers collected; when Gozzadini and Cavaliere, with many others, intervened, parted the combatants, and the Lambertacci returned to their houſes. The pretor, who went with the people to the tumult, wiſhing to put ſome reſtraint of fear upon both parties, ordered four of the houſes of each party to be demoliſhed: but this ſeverity had little or no effect; for having grown more cruel than ever againſt each other, they were almoſt every day in arms and action together. As this revolt was already divulged to the circumjacent cities, the companies della Bran-

ca, of the griffin, and of Lombardy, underſtanding that the Guelphs of Modena and the Ghibellines of Forli intended to come in to the aid of the two parties, took their arms, and, together with the people, poſted themſelves to guard the paſſages of the city; and receiving intelligence that the Guelphs of Modena were on their march, went out to meet them, and put them to flight and confuſion at the point of the ſword. The count da Panigo, who had armed himſelf in favour of the Lambertacci, hearing of this defeat of his friends, made his eſcape from the city; but his people were put to the ſword by the company della Branca, who afterwards razed to the ground all the houſes, not only of the count, but of his followers. The Ghibellines from Forli, friends of the Lambertacci, hearing of the ſlaughter of the Modeneſe and the followers of the court, made by the ſoldiers della Branca, ſuddenly retreated. Theſe civil wars in Bologna were ſcarcely divulged abroad, when all Romagna, taking advantage of the occaſion, rebelled; and for this reaſon the ſenate, together with the pretor and the companies, poſted themſelves at all the ways, to make peace between theſe two factions; in which enterpriſe they fortunately at length ſucceeded, and, after much reaſoning and perſuaſion they obtained hoſtages from both ſides, and thus the city was quieted. While this peace was in treaty, the principal heads of the rebellion of Imola, of Faenza, and of Salarolo, dreading the reſentment of the Bologneſe at Forli, ſaved themſelves by flight. The Bologneſe were indeed formidable, for they were collecting a powerful army to march into Romagna. When it was embodied, the pretor of Bologno attempting to go out upon the compaign, Antonio Lambertacci,

bertacci, forgetting his plighted faith, and diſregarding the fate of the hoſtages delivered, flew out again in arms to prevent the triumphal chariot from going out, and again commenced a plentiful effuſion of blood. This ſedition was the moſt terrible of any that had ever yet happened; it laſted forty days without intermiſſion; ſo that Bologna became a haunt of murderers, and the ſtreets ran down with human blood; the property of all men was ſubjected to depredation, the edifices were ruined, and the grandeur and glory of the city trodden under foot.

The Lambertacci were at laſt however overcome, fled from the city with all their accomplices, and went to Faenza, leaving their houſes and palaces a prey to the people, which, in one word, were all levelled with the ground; and becauſe the pretor and captain of the people had always held a good underſtanding with the Lambertacci, they were now depoſed from the magiſtracy, although it is univerſally agreed that his judgment and decrees were unexceptionably impartial and upright. Fifteen thouſand citizens were baniſhed with them, whoſe names are diſtinctly written in a book among the records in the chamber of Bologna. Theſe perſons, ſcattered in various places, planted new families, as the Guerrini in Forli, the Bazzani and Sacchi in Parma, the Malpigli in Lucca, the Carrari in Ravenna, the Buoninſegna in Terni, the Maffei in Rome, the Bagarotti in Placentia and Padua; from which families have ariſen men famous both in arms and letters. The Lambertacci ſought an aſylum in Faenza and in Forli, and fortified themſelves in both thoſe cities: but the Gieremei, not content with having driven them out of the city, endeavoured to chaſe them from the places where they were received;

received; wherefore, that they may not be taken by ſurpriſe, they ſent to their friends in every place, particularly to the count di Montefeltro, the counts of Modiana, and to others of their faction, for ſuccour. The baniſhed citizens of Ravenna, being united with thoſe of Forli, Ariminum, and other places, went to Forli, and from thence to Faenza, and there fortified themſelves, and a little afterwards drove out the Manfredi; and paſſing afterwards to Caſtel San Piero, and from thence to Salarolo, where the Manfredi had reſorted, and having taken the caſtle, many of their enemies were put to death, and many made priſoners and ſent to Forli, among whom was Alberico Manfredi. At Bologna many of the faction of Lambertacci were impriſoned; and, as a report was ſpread that a powerful ſuccour was arrived to the Gieremei, the Lambertacci, with their wives and children, fled to the mountains, and from thence to Faenza, where with the aſſiſtance of their friends, they begun to collect forces. The Gieremei, receiving information that the Lambertacci were preparing to return to Bologna, conſulted in council upon the project of going out firſt in ſearch of them. The reſolution was taken with great precipitation, and they marched out with the triumphal chariot with great ſpirits to Romagna. The Ghibellines, who were appriſed of their approach, went out ſuddenly to meet them in arms, and the Guelph party were defeated, leaving three of the Gieremei dead upon the field, and Alberghetto Manfredi motally wounded and a priſoner. This reverſe of fortune ſpread a terror in Bologna; but dreading the total loſs of their city, they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to fortify it, and had recourſe again to their confederates and friends, and in a ſhort time aſſembled a ſtrong army.

army. It is unneceſſary to enumerate all the places and parties from whence each ſide drew their aids; but the triumphal chariot again went forth, and was met again by the Lambertacci and their allies, when another terrible engagement enſued, and the Lambertacci again remained victorious. Two thouſand men were ſlain, among whom a great number of the principal nobles. The Lambertacci purſued their victory into the territory of Bologna, where they put every thing to fire and ſword, deſtroying vines, trees, corn, and houſes, and took a great number of caſtles, and it is ſuppoſed might have made themſelves maſters of the city, ſuch was the panick in it, without ſtriking another blow: but thinking they had done enough for the preſent, they returned to Faenza. The Bologneſe finding their affairs unfortunate, both at home and abroad, deliberated on ſending to king Charles for aſſiſtance, and two ambaſſadors accordingly went, Paſſaggieri and Prendiparti. Many citizens diſplayed their public ſpirit in defence of the city and ſenate, and ſubſcribed large ſums to defence their liberty: Paſſaggieri, for example, was ſo attached to the Gieremei, that he gave ſix thouſand pounds for the common good. The ſenate by proclamation ordered, that every citizen poſſeſſed of a horſe ſhould have him recorded in a book, that they might know what aſſiſtance the malitia might have in caſe of extremity, and the name of every man who then owned a horſe is very carefully preſerved as a family diſtinction.

The Lambertacci, after their victory over the Gieremei, did not fail to make incurſions into the country of Bologna every day, diſturbing now one place, and then another, in ſuch a manner, that of that party there was not a caſtle, village,

or

or city, that was not infeſted, or threatened with their arms. The Bologneſe, apprehenſive that the evil might extend itſelf too far, and that the people, wearied with ſo many calamities, might revolt, and having before their eyes what Ridolph the emperor had done, they began to meditate a ſurrender of the city to the pope: ambaſſadors were appointed, who were humanely received, and their petition attended to, at Viterbo. The pope was vaſtly pleaſed with the ſubmiſſion of Bologna, and ſhe acknowledged the church and the pontiff for her patron. The inſtrument is dated 29th July, 1278, by which the ambaſſadors, in the name of God, and of the podeſta, captain, council, and commons, recognized the dominion, diction, law, juriſdiction, power and principality of the city, territory, and diſtrict, in St. Peter, the keeper of the key of the kingdom of heaven, and in Nicholas the Third and his ſucceſſors, Roman pontiffs, reſerving the laws the rights of this city, territory, and diſtrict. Although the Gieremei diſcovered an obſtinate averſion to any kind of peace or reconcilation with the Lambertacci, the pope conceived a great deſire of uniting Romagna and Bologna in his intereſt, and, after long negociations to that purpoſe he ſucceeded to perſuade both parties to liſten to his propoſals, and ſubmit to his diciſion. The conſtitution of the pope Nicolas the Third, upon the reformation of the peace of the Bologneſe, to wit, the Gieremei and Lmbertacci, was made, and the priſoners on both ſides ſet at liberty; and in 1279 the two factions of Gieremei and Lambertacci, were aſſembled once more in the piazza of Bologna, in preſence of the cardinals legates of the pope, appearing in great pomp and ſplendor. The families on the

the party of the Lambertacci and Gieremei were all recorded by name, and, after long orations made by the cardinals, the inſtruments were ſigned, and the oaths of perpetual peace and friendſhip taken by them all. The proceedings, as they remain on record, are very voluminous, and it is not poſſible a peace ſhould be made with more ſolemnity or leſs reſerve; but of what avail are pious exhortations, charitable reſolutions, or ſolemn oaths, againſt inveterate paſſions in unbalanced governments?

In 1280 the Lambertacci, who could not live under the operation of the ſecret venom of their perſonal hatreds, which daily corroded in their hearts, making little account of the peace made, or the penalties impoſed, burning with deſire to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Gieremei, having taken their arms, flew to the piazza, and finding there a great number of their enemies, fell upon them with a ſudden fury, and, after a long combat, puſhed the Gieremei out of the piazza, and made themſelves maſters of it, and would have eaſily poſſeſſed the palace, if the captain, with two thouſand men, had not ruſhed into the midſt of the danger, and with the Caccianemici, Lambertini, Arioſti, Prendiparti, and other friends, oppoſed them, and, at the points of their ſwords, driven them back, and purſued them out of the city. The battle on both ſides was bloody and many principal men were killed in it, after performing prodigies of valour. The Lambertacci, thus again driven from the city with their arms, retired to the mountains with great loſs, and the Gieremei proceeded to the old work of ruining their houſes, within and without the city; and having iſſued a proclamation againſt a great number, they ſent others into confinement, according to the uſuage in ſuch caſes in thoſe times.

Berthold,

Berthold, the count of Romagna, the pope's nephew, immediately ſummoned all parties to appear before him, and give an account who were the aggreſſors in the late revolution, and prevailed upon the Gieremei and Lambertacci to give hoſtages to perform the award for ſettling their differences; but before the affair could be finiſhed the pope died, and Berthold reſtored the hoſtages to the Guelphs, but the Lambertacci not conducting to his ſatisfaction, he carried theirs to Rome.

Bologna now remaining in the hands of the Gieremei, four officers were immediately created, whoſe duty it was to preſerve the peace of the city, and to them was given the higheſt poſſible authority; and they began their operations with ſo much prudence and firmneſs, that their proceedings give great ſatisfaction to the citizens, and with whatever they ordered or deſired the people complied with affection and confidence, excepting ſome of the followers of the Lambertacci, who not being able to bear the ſight of the city at peace, while their party were driven out of it, began, by ſlow degrees and ſecret practices, to conſult of meaſures to make themſelves maſters of the city, and reſtore their baniſhed party. For many days they diſcourſed together in ſecret upon this project, and hoping that fortune might for once favour and aſſiſt them, they determined finally to aſſault the piazza; and becauſe all the city was in ſecurity, and lived in peace, they readily perſuaded themſelves, that by ſurpriſe their deſign would ſucceed. One day, at the hour of dinner, iſſuing out in arms, and crying with a lively accent, *The people and the church!* they ſeized on the two mouths of the piazza. The Gieremei, as ſoon as they were alarmed, ran out with the people in general

general with arms in their hands, and coming to a fierce engagement with their enemies, after a plentiful effuſion of blood, dove them out of the city to the mountains, to go from thence to Faenza and inhabit with their friends. The city of Bologna now purified of all tumults, the ſenate attended to the fortification of all the fortreſſes and caſtles in the country, placed ſtrong garriſons, and furniſhed plenty of proviſions and all things neceſſary; and the commanders placed in them, we may well ſuppoſe, were all good Guelphs and Gieremeites. The Lambertacci having taken refuge in Faenza, and partly in Forli, thoſe who were in Faenza, following the activity, ardour, and boldneſs of their genius, began to live with ſo much liberty, that it appeared as if Faenza was their own; this conduct was obſerved, and excited not only much cenſure, but the greateſt malevolence in the citizens, and among others, in Tibaldello Zambraſio, one of the moſt noble in Faenza. This noblemen, ſeeing himſelf expoſed to the ridicule of the town, on account of a pig which the Lambertacci had made ſo free as to take from him, and becauſe they had threatened his life for demanding the reſtoration of it, grew into ſuch a rage, that he ſwore he would loſe his life, or have ſatisfaction. After talking much of various projects, he at laſt determined upon one which he had never talked of at all. He pretended to be ſometimes ſeized with a melancholy humour; went ſtrangely out of his houſe ſometimes, flying the company of his friends and relations; appearing in the ſtreets uncommonly thoughtful, ſometimes talking to himſelf of a variety of things, and muttering imperfect ſentences. Having held this courſe of life for ſome days, his infirmity became divulged through the whole city. In a few

days more, without confiding his ſecret to his father or any other, he counterfeited the part of a complete idiot; and his behaviour was ſo wild, whimſical, and extravagant, that he appeared both to his father and brother to be wholly bereaved of his underſtanding, threw his family into diſtreſs, and the whole city into the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, to ſee a nobleman, who had ever ſhewn ſo much prudence as to be held in high eſteem, fallen ſuddenly into ſuch misfortune and diſgrace, though ſo worthy of compaſſion. In a few days more he took from his own farm an old mare, wholly worn out, and reduced to a mere ſkeleton; and having ſhaved her with a pair of ſciſſars, transformed her into ſuch an object as excited the laughter of every one who ſaw her. In this condition he led her into the city, and there turned her looſe. The boys ſoon collected about the animal, and beat and terrified her till ſhe ran, with all the ſtrength and ſpirit that remained in her, throughout the whole city, and occaſioned a general hubbub wherever ſhe went. The Lambertacci, knowing nothing of the notorious fact, any more than of the ſecret motive, were alarmd with ſuſpicions that their enemies were riſing, ſeized their arms, and ran about to every place where they heard the loudeſt ſhouts and noiſes. Finding it was only an idle populace inſulting Tibaldello's mare, they joined with others in the laugh, and returned to their houſes. The ſame pageantry having been repeated more thon once afterwards, the Ghibellines became ſo ſecure, that when they heard a ſimiliar cry, they ſaid it was only Tibaldello's mare. Riſing at length to the third ſtage of counterfeited madneſs, Tibaldello ran about the ſtreets in the night, and cried out, "To arms! to arms!" and taking his hands the padlocks and bars of the city

city gates, which were ſometimes carelesly left, he raiſed a very great multitude, and a mighty rumour, ſo as again to alarm the Lambertacci, and drive them to ther arms; but finding it another freak of Tibaldello, they threatened him ſeverely if he ſhould make any more ſuch diſturbance, and returned. By theſe whimſical movements, frequently repeated, he ſo effectually quieted the ſuſpicions of the Lambertacci and Ghibellines, that upon any ſuch uproar they laughed with the reſt, and made themſelves merry with the crazy whimſies of Tibaldello. With ſo much art and preſeverance was the folly ſimulated, that all ſuſpicions were quieted, not only in the Ghibellines, but in the whole city; and the belief of his irrecoverable folly was univerſal. Having purſued his plan thus far with ſucceſs, he opened himſelf in perfect confidence with a very faithful friend, made him acquainted with his deſign, and deſired him to prepare with ſecrecy two habits of monks, in a ſack, and meet him the next day in a foreſt in the neighbourhood of Faenza. This was done, and at the hour preſcribed they met, Tibaldello having gone out of the town with all the appearance of a madman, diſguiſed like a falconer, with two dogs attending him, and an hawk in his hand, to the high diverſion of every one that met him. Arrived at a lonely place in the foreſt, he ſet his dogs and his hawk at liberty, and with his faithful compainion, putting on the habits of friars, that they might not be known by any whom they might meet on the road, and travelling all night, at the opening of the gates in the morning they arrived at Bologna, and took lodgings at the houſe of Alberto Battagliucci. To Guido Ramponi he related all that had paſſed, explained his intentions, and by his favour obtained an introduction

duction to the council of ſecrecy. Here he opened his whole deſign, and the deſire he had to chaſtiſe the Lombertacci; and ſhewed them of how much importance it was to them to embrace the preſent opportunity to remove from their ſight and their apprehenſions thoſe enemies of their city and people, who were conſtantly employed in ſchemes of miſchief againſt both. The counſel of Zambraſi was received with pleaſure by the whole body, and the buſineſs was referred to the four ſuperintendants of peace, under oath to keep this a ſecret. To theſe Tibaldello methodically communicated his plan, and demanded only for himſelf, and all the family of Zambraſi, and Ghirardone his faithful friend, and his family, to be made citizens of Bologna; and to ſend hoſtages for ſecurity for what was to be done. The offers of Tibaldello were very ſatisfactory to the pretor, and Guidotto Prendiparte pledged himſelf for the family of Zambraſi. The four ſeperintendants made him relate the method and means by which every thing was to be conducted; and the ſtratagem appearing to be practicable, they took an oath again to keep the whole a ſecret. The whole buſineſs cucluded on, they took leave of Zambraſi, who went to conduct the hoſtages, and ſetting out the ſame evening, reached Faenza at the opening of the gates, and entered the city without being known by any one. Arrived at his houſe, he found his whole family in great affliction. To his aged father alone he related in order the progreſs he had made, by means of a feigned madneſs, in his plan againſt thoſe who had made little account of the honuor of his family and blood: the father, with joy beyond expreſſion, and a thouſand embraces of his ſon, cauſed to be aſſembled in his houſe all their relations,

tions, to whom, in an eloquent and prudent harangue, Tibaldello related all his actions and designs. All with one voice and one heart offered to devote themselves to take vengeance on the Lambertacci. Tibaldello, to whom an hour appeared a thousand years, till he could see an end of his enterprise, the next day sent secretly his three brothers, viz. Zambraso, Guido, and Fiorino, to Bologna, conducted by Ghirardone, informing the four superintendants of what they had to do, and of the hour when their soldiers ought to appear at Faenza. The hostages received, the council assembled digested every particular, and secretly gave orders that all the passes should be secured, that no one might be able to send intelligence of any thing that happened. On the 23d of August, 1281, the army of Bologna was formed, and in order marched out of the city, with all the Guelph party; and, by a forced march the whole night, they were early in the morning at the gate appointed; finding it open, they freely entered the city, and were conducted to the place intended for action. The Zambrasi had embarrassed and stopped up the streets where they thought proper; and Tibaldello, as usual, feigning to excite a rumour with his keys at the gates of the houses of the Lambertacci, in truth many of them were shut up by the mob, so that they could not go out. The whole apparatus being ready, he set up a cry of *Live the church!* and *Away with all the traitors!* and while he was terrifying the city with this horrid outcry, the Bolognese, with the utmost security, made themselves masters of the piazza of the city. The Ghibellines, followers of the Lambertacci, hearing the noise of voices, and the sound of arms, rang the bells, assembled a great number, and hastened to the piazza, there to fortify

tify themſeves; but finding the Guelphus already in poſſeſſion, began the conflict. The particulars of this engagement, the danger of one and intrepidity on another individual, are not now material. The action was ſharp and bloody; and after mighty feats of valour on both ſides, and many killed and wounded, the Lambertacci were defeated, and ſuch as could, obliged to fly into the country; all who could not were put to the ſword. Nine of the principals fled to a church or monaſtery for ſanctury, but were there miſerably put to death. Beſides five hundred priſoners, a multitude of others wretchedly periſhed in the ſinks and ditches. The Bologneſe having obtained the victory, and by means of it the complete dominion of Faenza, pardoned the Faentines, but confiſcated all the property of the Lambertacci and their adherants, both within and without the city. Finally, they appointed a new pretor, and a ſufficient guard, and triumphantly conducted Tibaldello Zambraſi, his father, and with them Zambraſo, Guido, and Fiorino, who were hoſtages, and their ſiſter, and other relations, who were all made by the ſenate not only citizens, but nobles of Bologna. The ſame honours and immunities were conferred on Ghirardone and his relations, to all of whom the ſenate gave houſes and poſſeſſions, any they enjoyed all the moſt reſpectable offices in the ſtate. As the victory was the 24th of Auguſt, the ſenate ordained an annual feſtival of St. Bartholomews's day, in perpetual commemoration of Tibaldello; in which his pig, his mare, his hawks, dogs, friar's dreſs, and city keys, were all tranſmitted, in ſculpture and marble, to the amuſement and aſtoniſhment of poſterity.

The

The nobles of the party of Lambertacci, who were ſtill remaining in Forli, ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, to obtain peace, but they could accompliſh nothing: the pope not only refuſed to receive them, but ordered them to return. The Gieremei ſent ambaſſadors, and they were admitted to an audience, and received with dignity; and by their perſuaſions the pope ſent Giovanni Appia, a French gentleman, a counſellor of king Charles, with eight hundred cavalry, to recover Forlio. The pope made him count of Romagna, and he went with the ambaſſadors to Bologna, where he was received with great honour; where he remained, however, but a ſhort time: for having in 1282 diſpatched what belonged to his office, he took with him two of the tribes of the city, and marched into the territory of Ravenna. From thence he wrote to the republic of Forli, commanding them to ſend out of their city the count Guidone da Feltrio, and all the foreigners; but he was not obeyed, becauſe neither the count, nor the Lambertacci, to whom he wrote at the ſame time, were willing to go. Their refuſal gave occaſion to another long war, and to all the fire and ſword, ſtratagems and maſſacres, as well as carnage in battle, that uſually attended all their wars. But though theſe evils alſo originated in the ſame ſource, the imperfect conſtitution of Bologna, they may be paſſed over.

It ſeems there were ſtill ſome perſons left in Bologna of the name of Lambertacci, one of whom, in 1285, came to blows with one of the Scannabecchi, under the piazza, which occaſioned another riſing of the people in arms. They were both put to flight, but overtaken in the country, and beheaded; and all the party of the Lambertacci were again declared rebels, and all their families

milies baniſhed to a certain diſtance in the city, and confined to places aſſigned them. The wiſe men (ſapienti) afterwards made a proviſion, that all thoſe of the party of the Lambertacci, who had taken an oath of fidelity to the church and the party of the Gieremei, according to a general regulation made in the council of the commons and people of Bologna, ſhould be cancelled from the books of the exiles, excepting, thoſe who, ſince taking the oath, had gone to live in Faenza, Forli, and other places, and united themſelves with the enemies of the people of Bologna, with this exception, that none who had been of the party of the Lambertacci, at the time of the firſt commotion, ſhould be of the council, or hold any office. This regulation give great ſatisfaction to the city, and a general tranquillity. But the government had not ſtrength to preſerve the peace. In 1286 a private quarrel, ariſing, however, probably from the general ſtate of parties, happened, in which Guarladi, of the company della Branca, was killed. The government was neither able to puniſh the murderer, nor to prevent the people from taking it upon themſelves in their own way. They took arms for revenge, and ruined all the houſes, towers, trees, and other property of the perſons guilty or ſuſpected, both in the city and out of it, and of all their relations. But the new government could not long remain quiet. The council of eight hundred, and the people, having their eyes fixed upon the general utility of the city and its diſtrict, that all things might be governed with conſummate prudence, gave orders to the ſapienti to examine how a new council might be eſtabliſhed, of two thouſand perſons, of ſufficent wiſdom, charity, and property, to ſupport the weight of the commonwealth. The ſapienti, elected

elected by the antieni and conſuls, having maturely deliberated and debated, ordained that the new council of two thouſand ſhould be elected by ballot in that council; that is to ſay, that an hundred electors for each tribe ſhould be appointed, each of whom ſhould have the election of five members of the new council; that each one ſhould be not leſs than eighteen, nor more than ſeventy years of age, and ſhould be truly of the party of the church and of the Gieremei of the city of Bologna, and ſo held and reputed in the time of the firſt commotion which happened in the city; that he ſhould not be a ſervant*, a puppet-ſhowman, a porter, nor a foreigner, &c, nor a conſtant inhabitant of the country of Bologna, and ſhall have been a conſtant reſident in the city for twenty years; ſhall be rated to the public taxes, and have paid his ſhare of the public collections; ſhall be known in the liſts of the public factions, but ſhall not be a clergyman, or eccleſiaſtical perſon, nor of any other city, caſtle, or land, which has favoured the Ghibellines, or the party of the Lambertacci. If there were any one at preſent in the council, in any of the caſes enumerated in this order, he may not be choſen by any elector whatſoever; and if he ſhall have a brief of an elector, he may not elect himſelf in any manner. That no one ſhould be elected contrary to the preceding form, under penalty of baniſhment, and a fine of twenty pounds, for every one that ſhould violate it, and for every offence; and none who ſhould be elected contrary to this order ſhould take the oath of a counſellor, nor proceed to chooſe another, under the

* Non ſia ſervo, burrattino, brentatore, ſachino, ne fumante, o forreſtiero.

ſame penalty. That every election made againſt it ſhould be null, and that any one might inform ſecretly or openly of a breach of this law, and obtain the penalty. That the antieni, conſuls, and doctors of laws, and their notaries, ſhould be of this council ex officio, in addition to the number of two thouſand; but none was to be a member who was not a native of the city. The ſenate then cauſed to be diſtinctly recorded, in three books, the names of the baniſhed Lambertacci, and repaired the triumphal chariot* and its ſtandard, and painted it with the portraits of ſix ſaints, and laid out upon it no leſs than thirty pounds and ten pence. Many other regulations and precautions were taken by the triumphant faction of the Gieremei, to fortify themſelves in the government, and exclude, in the moſt decided manner, every man who had any tincture or connection of the oppoſite party; but ſtill there were not wanting many ſeditious perſons inſidiouſly meditating to undermine their tranquillity, and to favour thoſe who were held to be rebels againſt them: ſo that the ſenate were frequently alarmed, and full of apprehenſions of the total ruin of the city. They ſaw that almoſt the whole country was one continued tavern of the baniſhed (banditti), and to put ſome reſtraint upon their temerity, purge the city and country both of ſuch a dangerous plague, and quiet the ſeditions of the nobles, they aſſembled the antiani, conſuls, and all the ſapienti, and made many ordinances againſt the baniſhed rebels, to the end that no freſh revolution might be attempted; and made it a capital crime to attempt or propoſe, or even to ſpeak or reaſon about their reſtoration or pardon.†

In

* Carrocio.

† There is another anecdote in 1288, which, although it remains in myſterious obſcurity, may yet be alledged as an inſtance of theſe extravagant

In the beginning of the year 1289 all their prudence appeared to be ineffectual; for their own faction, and in the new government, were two parties ſtill, the nobles and plebeians, and a tumult aroſe between them. The ſenate, the pretor of the preceding year, and the people, became involved in the diſpute, till the pretor thought his life in danger, and ſecretly went away from

extravagant characters, irregular events, and atrocious actions, which always abound in ſuch governments, render the protection of the laws precarious, and life and liberty inſecure. Ambaſſadors had been ſent by the republic to Forli, and to the count of Romagna; and other ambaſſadors were ſent to the marquis of Eſte, to congratulate him upon his interpoſition to promote an accommodation between the citizens of Reggio, who were truly of the party of the church; and that by his councils and mediation he would prevail upon Bettino Gallucci, elected captain of Reggio, to hearken to reaſon, and reſtore ſome merchandiſes taken at Rubiera from Bolognese merchants. Lamberto Baccilieri, a Bolognese, had contracted friendſhips with many perſons in the court of Obizzo, marquis of Eſte, and frequented familiarly all the courtiers of that prince; ſo that he was held to be one of that court. Finding Obizzo at table one day at dinner, Lamberto, without being obſerved by any one, approached very near the perſon of the prince, drew his dagger, and with a rapid and malicious force of his arm, gave him an unexpected ſtroke acroſs his viſage. Azzo the prince's ſon, and all the other courtiers and citizens preſent, laid their hands upon their arms, and ruſhed upon the malefactor to put him to death; but Obizzo, though his face was covered with blood, had the preſence of mind to command them to deſiſt, but ordered him to be put to the torture, to make him confeſs from what motive, and at whoſe inſtigation, he had made ſuch a deſperate attempt. After a long and cruel examination on the rack, he declared that he had not done it by the orders, or at the deſire, or by the advice of any one, nor excited by any hope, nor in conſequence of any previous converſation or thoughts, but that he had been urged on by a ſudden fury. This confeſſion not being credited, he was examined again repeatedly; but, with the ſame conſtancy and fortitude, perſevered in the ſame confeſſion, nor could all his torment extort from him any other anſwer. Finally, bound to the tails of four aſſes, he was dragged through all the city of Ferrara, and afterwards hanged. This action is an example of that contempt of life, that inveteracy of reſolution, and that immovable fortitude, which is ſometimes inſpired by the inflamed paſſions of party: but his denial is by no means a proof that the plan was not concerted.

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the city with many of his friends. The want and the neceſſity of repreſentatives of the people was felt at this time; and whether it was to obtain information, or to throw off a burthen of care and labour, or to gratify ſome aſpiring individuals, or to pleaſe the people, or to extend their influence, or whether all theſe motives concurred, the antiani, aſſembled in the chamber of the pretor, conſidered among themſelves what ought chiefly to be done relative to the war, at this time to be carried on in conjunction with their confederates; and they ordained, that two wiſe men, of exemplary lives, ſhould be elected from each tribe, who ſhould examine, and concert with them, the antiani, enquire in what ſtate were the ſtipendiaries of the commons of Bologna, and ſee whether the ſoldiers had their horſes according to law, and whether proviſion was made of money to pay ſalaries, wages, &c. But who was to elect theſe wiſe men? Not the people; not the tribes themſelves: this would have made two centres, and all authority muſt be in one, The antiani themſelves therefore elected them: and in the afternoon the antiani and the wiſe men aſſembled together, and conſulted generally about the ſoldiers; and it was concluded, that the number in pay ought not to be diminiſhed, but rather increaſed; and that particular attention ſhould be given to the collection of the revenue upon ſeveral articles, as grain, ſalt mills, &c. that money might be had in ſeaſon to pay the ſoldiers their ſtipends, &c.

But there is not time nor room to purſue this relation. It muſt be ſufficient to add, that the affairs went on in this curious manner to the final cataſtrophe of all ſuch governments, an eſtabliſhment of abſolute power in a ſingle man. There were in Italy, in the middle age, an hundred or two

two of cities, all independent republics, and all conſtituted nearly in the ſame manner. The hiſtory of one is, under different names and various circumſtances, the hiſtory of all: and all had the ſame deſtiny, excepting two or three that are ſtill decided ariſtocracies, an exit in monarchy. There are extant a multitude of particular hiſtories of theſe cities, full of excellent warning for the people of America*. Let me recommend it to you, my young friend, who have time enough before you, to make yourſelf maſter of the Italian language, and avail your country of all the inſtruction contained in them, as well as of all the art, ſcience, and literature, which we owe to Greece, Italy, and Paleſtine, countries which have been, and are our maſters in all things.

* By all of them is verified the obſervation of a liberal writer, quoted before: "Theſe republics were all expoſed to almoſt daily "revolutions, and ſeldom did the ſyſtem of adminiſtration continue "a whole year the ſame." Danina, Revolutions of Literature, c. v. ſect. 10.

LETTER

LETTER V.

NEUCHATEL.

Dear Sir,

THE ſovereign, or rather the firſt magiſtrate of this monarchical republic, is the king of Pruſſia. The principality is compoſed of two counties, Neuchatel and Valengin, which were united in one ſingle ſovereignty by the dukes of Longueville, whoſe family became extinct in 1707: the country ſubmitted to the king of Pruſſia, who, by right of reverſion, re-demanded Neuchatel as a vacant fief of the houſe of Châlons, inherited by the princes of Orange, who laid claim to all its rights.

The authority of the king is limited by the great privileges of the country. The ſovereignty is exerciſed conjointly, 1. By the king's governor, who preſides in the aſſembly of the ſtates. 2. By the body of the three eſtates, compoſed of twelve judges, who adminiſter juſtice in the laſt reſort, and are four counſellors of ſtate for the nobility. Four officers of judicature for the ſecond rank, taken from the four chatellanies and the fifteen mayories. Four counſellors of the city, which is governed by ſixty-four perſons, who adminiſter ordinary juſtice, and who are the four miniſtraux. Twenty-four perſons for the little council, and forty for the grand council.—The relation of this republican principality with the Helvetic body conſiſts in an ancient fellow-citizenſhip with the four cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure; but the canton of Berne is particular protector,

protector, and the declared arbiter between it and its prince, ſince 1406. The city of Neuchatel has alſo a ſtrict alliance of fellow-citizenſhip with Berne. The whole country ſubject to it contains twelve leagues in length and ſix in breadth, and is extremely well peopled: for it contains three cities, one bourg, ninety large villages, and three thouſand houſes, ſcattered at a diſtance from each other. It is conſolidated out of two counties, Neuchatel and Valengin; two baronies, Gorger and Vaumarcus, which belong to a nobleman of Berne; four lordſhips, Travers, Noiraque, Roſieres, and Colembier; one priory, Vautravers; five abbeys. At this day this principal republic is divided into four chatellanies, and fifteen mayories. The firſt count of Neuchatel that is known is Ulric, who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. He had a ſon named Bertold, who, in 1214, made a convention with the inhabitants, concerning the rights, liberties, and franchiſes of the citizens and people of the country.

In 1406 the inhabitants of Neuchatel obtained a confirmation of their liberties of John of Châlons, lord of the county. In 1519 they obtained another confirmation of their rights and liberties, and an acknoweldgment, that their princes have no power over them but with their own conſent. They have even changed their religion; and, in 1530, aboliſhed the maſs, and all the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church, without the conſent of their prince. Yet they ſuffered the houſe of Orleans Longueville to continue to enjoy their rights and revenues. The laſt male of this line died in 1694. The prince of Conti wanted to ſucceed by teſtament; but the three eſtates were againſt him, and rejected his demands in 1694 and 1699. At this time William, prince

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of orange, and king of great Britain, maintained that he had pretenſions on the county, derived from the houſe of Châlon. At the death of this prince, in 1702, the king of Pruſſia declared himſelf his heir, as the ſon of the eldeſt ſiſter of king William's father; and contended, that the principality of Orange, and the county of Neuchatel, belonged to him. In 1707, after the death of Mary of Orleans, who had been inveſted in this principality by the three eſtates in 1694, the king of Pruſſia demanded the inveſtiture of Neuchatel of the three eſtates, who granted it him becauſe he was of their relgion, and rejected the relations of the deceaſed, and all other pretenders. His ſon, by the ninth article of the peace of Utrecht, obtained an acknowledgment from Louis XIV. of him as ſovereign lord of Neuchatel and Valengin. Although the inhabitants are jealous of their liberties, they are nevertheleſs attached to their prince. It is to the body of the ſtates alone that it belongs to make ſtatutes, laws, and ordinances, and they repreſent the ſovereignty, and exercise the ſupreme authority. The king's governor preſides in it, but enters not into conſultation with the counſellors. It was this tribunal which gave the inveſtiture to the kings and before whom every pretender muſt make out his claim. Without deſcending to a particular account of this princely republic, let me refer you to the Dictionaire de la Martiniere, and to Faber, printed at the end of the ſixth volume of it, and to Cox's Sketches, and conclude with hinting at a few features only of this excellent conſtitution.—None but natives are capable of holding any office, civil or military, excepting that of governor. The ſame incapacity is extended to natives, who are in the ſervice of any foreign prince. All the citizens have

have a right to enter into the ſervice of any foreign ſtate, even though at war with Pruſſia. The three eſtates of Neuchatel and Vallengin ſhall be aſſembled every year. The magiſtrates and officers of juſtice hold their employments during good behaviour; nor is the king the judge of ill behaviour. The king, at his acceſſion, takes an oath to maintain all the rights, liberties, franchiſes, and cuſtoms, written or unwritten. The king is conſidered as reſident only at Neuchatel, and therefore when abſent can only addreſs the citizens through his governor and the council of ſtate. No citizen can be tried out of the country, or otherwiſe than by the judges. The prince confers nobility, and nominates to the principal officers of ſtate, civil and military: the chatelains and mayors who preſide in the ſeveral courts of juſtice, are alſo of his nomination. The prince in his abſence is repreſented by a governor of his own appointing. He convokes the three eſtates; preſides in that aſſembly, has the caſting vote, and the power of pardon: in his abſence, his place is ſupplied by the ſenior counſellor of ſtate. The three eſtates form the ſuperior tribunal; and to them lies an appeal from the inferior courts of juſtice. They are compoſed of twelve judges, divided into three eſtates: the firſt conſiſts of the four ſenior counſellors of ſtate, who are noble; the ſecond, of the four chatelains of Landeron, Boudry, Valde Travers, and Thielle; the third, of four counſellors of the town of Neuchatel. The judges in the firſt and ſecond diviſion hold their places for life; thoſe in the third are appointed annually.

The council of ſtate is entruſted with the execution of the laws, the adminiſtration, and police. They are nominated by the king, and not limited in number.

The legiſlative authority reſides conjunctively in the prince, the council of ſtate, and the town or people, each of which has a negative. Their criminal laws are mild, and the penalty marked out with preciſion: and perſonal liberty is tenderly and ſecurely protected, as it is in England or America, where the ſame laws in ſubſtance and ſpirit prevail. The liberties of the people, though the moſt abſolute monarch in Germany is firſt magiſtrate, are better ſecured than even in the maſt democratical cantons of Switzerland, where there is no property to contend for beyond the value of a pail of milk, a kid or a lamb. Liberal encouragement is given to ſtrangers to ſettle in the country. They enjoy every privilege of trade and commerce. This enlarged policy has greatly augmented their population, while a narrower principle in ſome of the Swiſs cantons occaſions a decreaſe of their people. The ancient conſtitution of Rhodes was probably much like this of Neuchatel, in three branches, and was accordingly celebrated as one of the beſt models of government in antiquity, and had effects equally happy upon the order, liberty, commerce, and population of that country. This happy mixture in three branches has been the never-failing means of reconciling law and liberty, in ancient and in modern times. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, ſi ſua quiſque jura ordo, ſuam majeſtatem teneat*. This is the only conſtitutions in which the citizens can truly be ſaid to be in that happy condition of freedom and diſcipline, ſovereignty and ſubordination, which the Greeks expreſſed ſo conciſely by their *Archein kai archeſthai.*

* Liv. lib. iii. c. 61.

Who

Who knows in union's cloſer bands to draw
The oppoſing claims of liberty and law,
Shall gain from virtue's breath a purer fame
Than all the poet or the ſage can claim.*

When will the tut'lar gods of Rome awake,
To fix the order of our wayward ſtate?
That we may once more know each other;—know
Th' extent of laws, prerogatives and dues;
The bounds of rules and magiſtracy; who
Ought firſt to govern, and who muſt obey?
It was not thus when godlike Scipio held
The ſcale of power; he who, with temp'rate poiſe,
Knew how to guide the people's liberty
In its full bounds, nor did the nobles wrong†.

* Pye's Poems, vol. i. p. 154, 155.
† Otway's Fall of Marius, Act i. ſc. 1.

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